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It Social Studies Curriculum

GENERAL EDITOR EDWIN FENTON

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

An Inquiry Approach



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**COMPARATIVE
POLITICAL
SYSTEMS**
An Inquiry Approach

COMPARATIVE

An Inquiry Approach

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POLITICAL SYSTEMS



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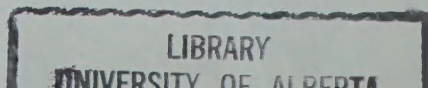
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TO THE STUDENT

This is a new kind of textbook. Most social studies texts you have studied in the past probably contained information about one subject, such as civics or geography. The texts were usually written by one or two authors who organized material into chapters, each with an important theme. The authors illustrated these books with pictures, graphs, and charts, each with a caption beneath it to explain what the illustration showed. You read or examined this material to learn the facts and generalizations it contained.

Instead of twenty or thirty chapters written by one or two authors, this book has sixty-one readings arranged in eleven chapters. Each reading contains one or more articles or pieces of source material taken from a newspaper, magazine, book, government document or other publication, or written especially for this volume. An introduction which connects one reading to another, and study questions which help to identify what to look for in the reading precede each selection. A study question for thought appears at the end of each reading.

Numerous illustrations designed, like the written materials, to provoke careful thought appear throughout the book. In addition, the audiovisual kit which accompanies the course contains a number of silent filmstrips, sound filmstrips, recordings, tests, and dittoed handouts. Your teacher will use these materials from time to time. He will also probably encourage you to work individually or as a member of a small group on special materials designed for individual and group activities.

All these materials have been chosen or written with great care. Instead of merely memorizing facts or generalizations, you will be asked to use them to identify problems, develop hypotheses or tentative answers to questions, gather information, and come to your own conclusions. Throughout this course, you will be challenged to think for yourself and to make up your own mind.

Most teachers assign one reading from this book for each night's homework assignment. Because most classes meet from seventy-five to eighty-five times a semester and there are only sixty-one readings in the book, there will be days when no readings from the book are assigned. Your teacher will probably find a variety of things he wishes to do on those days. He may

wish to give tests, to assign supplementary readings, to study current events, to hold individual conferences with students, or to encourage you to do individualized projects from the individual and group activity material.

Mankind has developed many kinds of political systems. This course concentrates on three major types: a primitive political system, the nineteenth-century Cheyenne Indians; a modern democracy, the United States; and a modern authoritarian state, the Soviet Union. By studying these three types of systems, you can learn how to analyze any political system which has ever existed. You can also learn some of the major differences among various types of political systems. On the basis of such knowledge, you should be able to decide for yourself the characteristics of the political system under which you choose to live.

Edwin Fenton
General Editor
Holt Social Studies Curriculum

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

The text of *Comparative Political Systems* consists of sixty-one readings which have been edited from published works or written especially for this course. Each reading follows a common pattern:

1. *The introduction.* Each introduction relates a reading to other readings in the course and supplies the essential background information.
2. *Study questions.* A few study questions call your attention to the most important points of the reading so that you can think about them in preparation for class discussion.
3. *The article or source material.* Each reading contains one or more documents, newspaper accounts, articles from magazines, or other forms of written material.
4. *A thought question.* One question designed to provoke thought about the meaning of a reading appears at the end of each lesson.

You are expected to read each day's lesson and to take notes on it before you come to class. Since your teacher will distribute dittoed material from time to time, you ought to get a three-ring

looseleaf notebook which can hold both the material to be distributed and your homework and classroom notes.

Note-taking is a vital skill. We suggest that you read and take notes (using ink so that notes will be legible at final exam time) on the readings in the following manner:

1. *Write the reading number and title at the top of a piece of notebook paper.*
2. *Skim the entire reading.* Read the first sentence in each paragraph of the introduction. Next read the study questions and get them fixed in your mind. Finally, read the first sentence in each paragraph of the article or source material. When you have finished, try to state in your own words what the lesson for the day is all about. Skimming such as this should never take longer than a few minutes.
3. *Read the introduction and take running notes.* Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Write down the major ideas from the introduction and any supporting evidence that seems particularly important. You need not use complete sentences, but remember that you may wish to study from the notes later, so take down enough information to make notes meaningful.
4. *Read the article or source material carefully and take running notes.* Do not read first and then read again for notes. Do not underline or mark the text in any way. Take the same sort of notes you took for the introduction. Put any conclusions you draw in parentheses to show that they are your own ideas.
5. *Go over your notes, underlining key ideas or words.* This procedure is the best way to begin learning the information in the lesson.
6. *Try to answer the question found at the end of the reading.* When you have finished studying your notes, try to answer the question that follows the reading. This question will always require you to think independently about the subject you have been studying. Do not write out the answers to this thought question. Think it through so that you will be prepared to discuss it in class.

Two additional study techniques will be useful. First, keep a vocabulary list in which to enter all new words and their definitions. In many cases, vocabulary words have been defined

in the text in marginal notes. Second, keep your class notes and your reading notes on a lesson together in your notebook so that you can review for tests without flipping through a mass of paper to find material on the same subject.

Your teacher will help you if you have trouble with this note-taking technique. He may occasionally spend time in class to demonstrate good note-taking techniques and will criticize your notes in an individual conference if you request one. Do not hesitate to ask for help.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP ACTIVITIES

At the end of each chapter, you will find brief descriptions of activities designed for individual or small group study. If your school has purchased the individual and group activity component, your teacher will tell you how to find detailed descriptions of these activities in the **Student Activity Book**. He or she will also explain procedures for using the materials from the component. From time to time, teachers may make supplementary assignments of their own.



UNIT 1

Introduction to Comparative Political Systems

The Political System of Stoerpenberg Camp

STATING THE ISSUE

Every society has a political system. That is, every society has ways to establish lawful power and to keep order. Some groups, such as families, have informal political systems. They live by rules which they rarely write down. Larger groups, such as nation-states, have formal political systems. Citizens write down the rules for the society in a constitution. They call their rules and the means designed to make and enforce them governments.

Many forms of government have appeared in the past. And many are present in today's world. In a dictatorship, for example, one man rules. In an oligarchy, a small group of men make decisions. In a democracy, the citizens, in the long run, hold the power. Usually they exercise that power through elected representatives.

Political scientists study political systems. They know that each political system is unique. But they have also learned that all political systems can be analyzed in similar ways. One important way relies on the use of concepts. Concepts are names for groups of objects (tables), events (revolutions), or characteristics (leadership).

This course will use five concepts as basic tools to help you learn how to analyze governments. These concepts will help you look for, organize, understand, and remember important information. The five concepts are:

Political Decision-Makers: the people who make, interpret, and enforce the rules of a political system

Political Decision-Making: the process by which a political system makes, enforces, and interprets those rules

CHAPTER

1

Political Institutions: organizations and ways of handling political decisions

Political Culture: the beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills of the people who are part of a political system

Citizenship: the part played by an individual within a political system

These definitions probably mean little to you now. As you study Chapter 1, however, you will begin to understand these concepts more fully. You will also begin to learn how to use them to study political systems.

1 POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS AND INSTITUTIONS

Everyone is a decision-maker in his private life. Everyone makes dozens of personal decisions each day: what food to eat, what clothes to wear, whether to do homework. Political decision-makers work on a different level. They make, interpret, and carry out the rules of a political system. They do the major work of government. The five pictures on the opposite page will help you to learn the difference between political decision-makers and other people who make decisions.

Some political decision-makers have more influence than others. What the President of the United States thinks and does influences the political system more than the acts of private citizens. In order to analyze a political system, you must find out all you can about the people in key decision-making positions.

You must also learn about the institutions through which political decisions are made. Many people use the word institution to mean a hospital or jail. This is one kind of institution. But political scientists use a different definition. By institutions, they mean organizations, such as the Congress or the Supreme Court, and political offices, such as the Presidency, that do the jobs of government. They also include in their definition the customs of the society and the processes of government that influence political decision-making. Free speech, and open voting, for example, are institutions. When the word appears in this course,



All of the people pictured here make decisions. Which ones are political decision-makers?



it is used as political scientists define it. The list of terms on this page will help you to learn the difference between political institutions and other institutions.

All these terms apply to institutions. Which ones are political institutions?

*The Cabinet
Carnegie-Mellon University
Freedom of Religion
The Ford Foundation
Federalism*

Reading 1 tells about 160 American prisoners late in World War II who were sent to prison camp at Stoerpenberg, Germany. In it you will find information about the political decision-makers and political institutions set up in the camp. As you read, take notes in your notebook about the most important points in the reading. Use a pen so that your notes will not smudge or fade. The following questions will indicate some of the more important points to look for:

1. Whom did the prisoners choose as their leader?
What were his characteristics?
2. What political institutions did the prisoners create?

Adapted from
"Stoerpenberg Camp," an
unpublished study of the
Human Relations
Department, University of
Kansas. Reprinted with
permission of the
department.

The Battle of the Bulge,
December 1944–January
1945, was Germany's last
attempt to penetrate the
Allied Western Front.
Surprising U.S. troops in
the Ardennes, Germans cut
deep into Belgium, creating
a "bulge" in U.S. lines. The
Germans were routed, but
40,000 Americans died.

Stoerpenberg Camp (Part 1)

There were a hundred and sixty of them. They had been counted by the Germans, and the count had been checked. They moved about the building, peering out the windows at the drab winter landscape, or sat around the tables, now and then dropping down on a bunk, hands under head, to lie staring at the ceiling. One hundred and sixty American prisoners of war, who had been captured in the Battle of the Bulge two months ago, were now organized as a prisoner-of-war labor unit at Stoerpenberg in western Germany.

During the first two days they had nothing to do but lie on their beds and wait to be fed. As men drifted from one bunk to another, they began to talk about their situation. They discovered that they were all privates who had been in combat units of one kind or another. They represented a fair cross section of the United States with men from every region of the nation in-

cluded. Some of the men who had been able to talk to the guards had discovered that the camp was at the edge of a large town. The prisoners were to be used as laborers in nearby fields or for general work about the town.

The prisoners were housed in a gymnasium that had been part of a group of factory buildings. It evidently had been used as a workers' recreation center. At one end of the building, a few tumbling mats and gymnastic bars were all that remained of the building's former equipment. An aisle formed by two rows of tables ran down the center of the building. Behind the tables on each side were rows of double-decked bunks. At the far end of the gymnasium, three rooms were partitioned off from the central part. The center room was fitted with washing troughs; to the north was a storage room, and to the south a lavatory. At the south end of the building on the outside lay a long narrow plot of ground used as an exercise yard for the prisoners. Within the building and the exercise yard the American prisoners formed a little society of their own.

By the second day the men had picked out bunks and taken regular places at the tables. There were ten tables, so sixteen men were grouped at each. Men who had known each other before they were captured tended to cluster together. None of the men could have known anyone else in the group for more than two months, but under the circumstances any familiar face was a welcome sight. A few men who had not yet made friends tended to drift to the table closest to their bunk.

On the third day the German officer in charge told the prisoners to choose a group leader. This leader would pass on to the group the regulations and orders of the German officers and would be responsible for carrying out rules for health and sanitation made by the prisoners.

After the interpreter told the prisoners this, they began to discuss the matter among themselves. They were seated around the tables where there was enough space for two or three of them to get together. They decided to hold an election. Very shortly men began to move from table to table campaigning for their favorite. Finally a few men were selected as candidates. Votes were taken by a show of hands. If a proposed candidate seemed to have a fairly large number of people behind him, he was considered in the running; if not, his name was dropped. The choice soon narrowed down to a few men. Each man was presented to the group by his backers who made campaign speeches in his favor. After the speeches were finished, a final vote was taken

► Do you drift toward familiar faces in a strange situation? Can you explain why?

► Is a leader's physical appearance important? Do you think it should be?

by a show of hands. The choice was George Kent, a man of good physical appearance, who had seemed at ease during the election of the leader. A college graduate, Kent had at one time been an acting sergeant and had fought bravely in battle.

Kent immediately brought up the vital matter of how food was to be distributed. In a prisoner-of-war camp with limited rations, food was of vital importance to everyone and was without doubt the subject most constantly on every prisoner's mind. Kent suggested that the entire ration of food should be divided into ten parts, one for each table, and then distributed at the tables to the men. In order to supervise this final distribution of food, he suggested that each table elect a table leader to take charge. The men quickly responded to this suggestion. Gathered around the tables, they talked informally. Finally each table chose its representative. The men who were chosen as leaders had a few characteristics in common. Several were college graduates, and the remainder all had finished high school. A number of them had acted as noncommissioned officers at one time or another. Every one of them was a good talker who could communicate well with his fellows.

Shortly after the table leaders were chosen, several of them suggested to Kent that they set up a council to govern the unit. Kent agreed. In the following weeks the council met regularly. It consisted of Kent and the ten table leaders. At each meeting Kent passed on orders and information from the German administration of the camp so that the table leaders could inform the men in their group. The members of the council also discussed living arrangements, such as the choice of bunks, and made assignments to clean-up details.

If a man felt that he had a real "gripe," he complained to his table leader. If the table leader was unable to settle the matter on the spot, he would bring it before the council at the next meeting. Most matters brought up in this way were settled at the council, but when a new problem seemed to be particularly important, it was referred to the tables for discussion and a referendum. Through this procedure the men were able to make rules by which they could govern themselves.

FOR THOUGHT:

Why do you think the prisoners chose the sort of leaders and set up the kinds of political institutions they did?

In the army, a detail is a small group of men who are assigned to do a job.

A referendum is a popular vote.

2 DECISION-MAKING

The prisoners at Stoerpenberg first chose their leaders and then formed a government. Theirs was an uncomplicated society. The men were in close physical contact. They chose their leaders by direct vote. The voting was conducted in an informal way.

Kent, the man chosen as group leader of the Stoerpenberg prisoners, had a forceful personality and acted confidently. He had graduated from college and had served as a noncommissioned officer for a short time. The prisoners also chose ten other leaders.

The prisoners set up a simple political institution, the council, to make, interpret, and enforce decisions. Those were primarily decisions about how the prisoners would share responsibilities, maintain a healthy and sanitary group, and distribute their food supply. Kent and the ten table leaders made up the council and represented the wishes of the voters. They did not need to set up very formal procedures with an executive (president), legislature (Congress), and judicial system (courts); one institution could handle all these tasks. The council made the laws (the legislative function), carried out the laws (the executive function), and interpreted their meaning (the judicial function). Since their society was small, all the prisoners had a chance to take part directly in making decisions and then in seeing that they were properly carried out.

The system, on a routine basis, worked well. But a government's strength is truly tested when it is called upon to make nonroutine, emergency decisions. Such a test of strength came when one of the group was accused of stealing food from a fellow prisoner.

Reading 2 completes the story of Stoerpenberg Camp. As you read and take notes, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How were laws made? Who suggested laws? Who passed them? Who enforced them?
2. What happened when Bartrum broke the unwritten rule against stealing food? What does Kent's action in this incident reveal about the part he played in the political system?

Adapted from
"Stoerpenberg Camp," an
unpublished study of the
Human Relations Department,
University of Kansas.
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of the department.

Stoerpenberg Camp (Part 2)

In a few weeks the camp was functioning very effectively. The men were organized into compact units. The routine of their lives had been worked out, with each man having certain duties to perform in a regular rotation for the benefit of all. Behind this formal organization was the code of the group. The code was not formal—no one had written it down or made speeches about it—yet everyone knew what it was and lived by it or knew what to expect if he did not.

The first and most important rule of this informal code was that no prisoner would steal from another, particularly that he would not steal food or tobacco. Stealing from the Germans was quite all right as long as a prisoner did not get caught. If he were caught, the prisoner's duty was clear—to say that no one else had been involved in the theft and to take whatever punishment the Germans gave. There were a few other important parts of the code. Everyone was expected to keep as clean as possible, although keeping clean required a great deal of effort. As to the work being done for the Germans, it was quite all right to do as little as possible, as long as a prisoner did not get caught.

Within two weeks after the 160 prisoners had been thrown together in the gymnasium at Stoerpenberg, they had developed a small but complete society. They had organized a government;

► Suppose that this man's children were hungry and he was unemployed and unable to find work. Is it all right for him to steal this quart of milk?



they had made some laws; they had worked out an economic organization to distribute food; and they had accepted an informal code which everyone obeyed.

In the third week of March 1945, as the result of an incident among the members of Table Five, the leaders of the work unit suddenly found themselves with a difficult problem. One of the men at the table was accused of stealing food, and the uproar over it threatened to break up the society.

One of the members of Table Five was a man named Court. From the very first, Ainslee, the table leader of Number Five, had been aware that Court did not fit into any of the informal groups at the table, nor did he seem to have friends at any of the other tables. His manner was listless and apathetic. He seemed withdrawn from the life about him and his reactions seemed rather slow and confused when any situation arose that required him to participate in some activity. His personal habits were very lax to the point that he was filthy, even though a room for washing was available. Ainslee thought that Court was mentally ill or had suffered some intense experience during his capture.

Whatever the reasons, Court was one of the few men who did not actively participate in the life of the group. His sole interest was food. Soon he began to save the bread from his daily rations. Each day he added another small portion to his store. He concealed the chunks of bread about his clothing and bunk. Court was very suspicious of his fellow prisoners and spent much of his free time carefully checking his hoard. By the middle of March, much of the bread he had managed to save was stale and unpalatable. He was not seen to eat any of it, but he seemed to get satisfaction from handling it and knowing that it was there when he wanted to look at it.

Bartrum, a tall, heavy man from Table Five, had been observing Court's behavior carefully. In casual conversations with others, he pointed out the futility of Court's actions. Many others agreed with him, and because food was so scarce, some felt that it was wrong for one man to waste what could be used so well by others.

Each evening the men of the work unit stood in the aisle to be counted by one of the Germans. Late in March, Bartrum was late to formation. Immediately after the men were dismissed he returned quietly to his bunk. A short time later the men around Table Five were startled by hoarse cries. Court was moving around and around his bunk, searching here and there, uttering moans, and weeping. Ainslee and several others moved quickly

Apathetic means showing no interest or emotion.

► With rations so scarce, was Court justified in hoarding food?

to Court to discover that much of his hoard of bread had been stolen. In a few minutes a large crowd had collected about Court's bunk. The news of his loss passed quickly among them. The low hum of many voices began to comment on the fact that Bartrum had been late to head count. The men began to suspect that he was the thief.

Ainslee had decided to go to Kent to organize a search among the members of the group when a few of the men walked over to Bartrum's bunk and began looking around. Bartrum protested, when suddenly one of the men found a chunk of bread tucked away at one end of the bunk. He shouted and turned upon Bartrum. A thick knot of men rapidly swirled about him, cursing, shouting, and striking at him. Bartrum attempted to fight clear, stammering incoherently, as more and more men joined the melee. The room was filled with uproar which spread rapidly until every man there was involved.

Kent, the group leader, quickly caught the significance of the cries of the outraged men around Bartrum and realized that if he did not act quickly, Bartrum might be killed. Throwing himself into the crowd, he fought his way to Bartrum. Seizing him by the collar, Kent managed to get on top of a table where he could be seen above the mob, still holding Bartrum firmly. At first he could not make himself heard, but as more and more of the men saw who it was that held Bartrum, they became quieter.

Taking a deep breath, Kent tried again. "Okay," he said, "I hate the —— as much as you do, but this isn't the way to do it." Howls of protest greeted his statement, but he kept on talking, arguing that Bartrum must be handled by regular procedure and not by a mob. Meanwhile, several of the table leaders had fought their way to Kent and now began to ring about him. Slowly the protests began to lessen. Kent bore down on the fact that the group would have its chance to take action after the council had tried Bartrum. As the crowd became quieter, Kent felt that the immediate danger was over. Calling to the table leaders to come with him, he jumped down from the table and, holding tightly to Bartrum, pushed his way through the men. They let him pass. The leaders walked with Kent and Bartrum to the end of the room. Here on the old tumbling mats they sat down to consider what they should do.

Bartrum's trial was conducted with some formality. Kent presided and asked most of the questions. Bartrum began by denying the theft but soon admitted his guilt, justifying himself by saying that the bread was being wasted and should do some-

Incoherently means talking or acting unclearly, in a manner which cannot be understood.

A melee is a brawl in which fighters tangle in a confused mass.

one some good. He surprised the council by saying that he was ready to accept any punishment that seemed fitting.

The council, after careful thought, passed sentence on Bartrum. First, they placed him in isolation for a month; no one was to speak to him or have anything to do with him at all. Second, during this same month he was assigned to do two hours of additional work in the barracks each night after the work unit had returned from the fields. Finally, he was to replace from his own bread ration an amount equal to the bread he had stolen.

After passing the sentence, the table leaders returned to their tables and consulted their men. In general, most of the men seemed satisfied, and only a few felt that the sentence was too light. After each table had voted to accept the decision, the leaders returned to Kent and informed him of the results. Kent then sent Bartrum back to his bunk with a stern reminder that if he did not carry out his sentence properly, the next action would be very severe.

During the following two weeks, Bartrum was cut off from his fellow prisoners. No one spoke to him. Each evening he put in his two hours of extra labor. Each day he turned over part of his bread ration to Court, who either ate it or stored it away with the rest of his hoard. Ainslee supervised the return of the stolen rations and kept an accurate day-by-day record. He appointed a different man each day to make sure that Bartrum worked steadily during his extra hours in the evening. By refusing to have anything to do with Bartrum, every member of the group helped to enforce the rest of the sentence.

NOTE:

Two weeks after the sentence began, the gymnasium was hit by a bomb during an Allied air attack. The Germans then bundled the American prisoners into small groups to distribute them among a number of other work camps. The society which they had formed came to an end. Most of the prisoners never saw each other again.

FOR THOUGHT:

Why did the prisoners at Stoerpenberg make decisions as they did?

3 POLITICAL CULTURE AND CITIZENSHIP

What a person learns depends in part on what he wants to know. Readings 1 and 2 described the government set up by American prisoners in the Stoerpenberg Camp. First, you studied the leaders of the political system to find out about their backgrounds and characteristics. Then you examined the political institutions they set up. Finally, you studied the process of making and enforcing political decisions in the camp.

Reading 3 concludes the study of the political system of Stoerpenberg Camp. Today you will reread Parts 1 and 2 of the Stoerpenberg study, but with new objectives: to learn about political culture and citizenship. It will not be necessary, however, to reread the introductions or study questions.

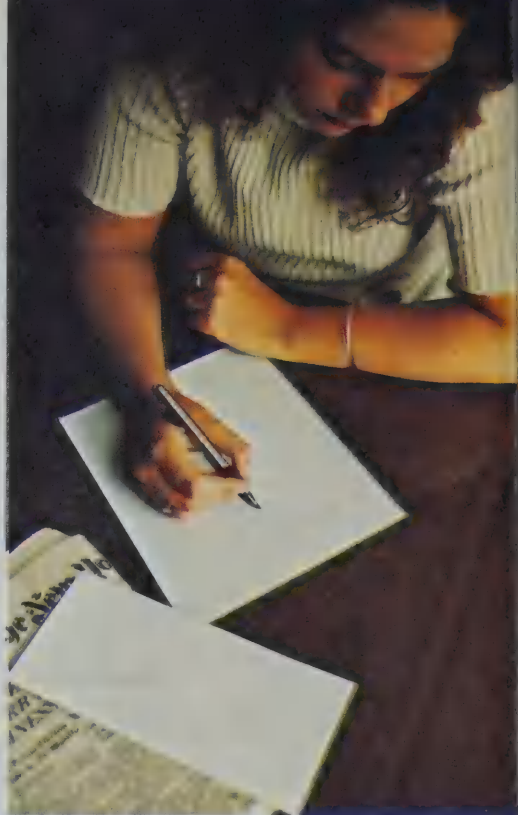
A political system grows slowly, often over many centuries. The beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills of people within the society influence their political system, and are influenced by it. In some societies, most people actively participate in the political process. In others, most citizens expect their rulers to make the laws without seeking the approval of the citizens. Some societies believe that government exists primarily to help individuals develop to the limit of their abilities. Others think that the welfare of the entire nation rather than the rights of individuals should determine policy. Political scientists call a society's beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills its political culture.

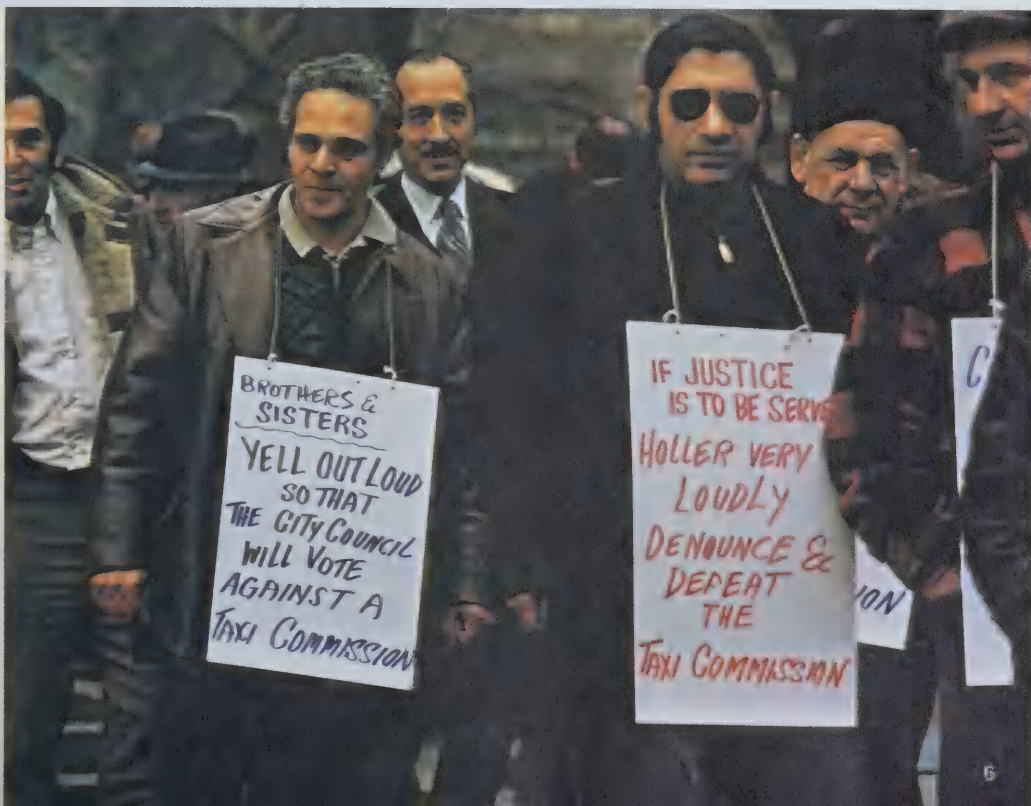
Individuals play quite different roles in the different kinds of political systems. Political scientists use the concept of citizenship to describe those roles. In the United States, for example, the role of typical citizens is an active one. Although most Americans spend only a small part of their time in political activity, they devote more effort to politics than do citizens of most other countries. Most Americans believe that they can influence political decisions made by their elected representatives. They believe that government exists to serve the citizenry and that government should respond to what citizens demand.

The prisoners came to Stoerpenberg with well developed political attitudes and values. At home, in schools, at work, and in communities in the United States, they had absorbed a political culture. They had also learned how citizens behave in a democracy. When they had the opportunity to develop their own government at Stoerpenberg, they were strongly influenced



This picture and the ones on the following two pages show citizens involved actively in politics. Arrange them in order, from the least amount of involvement to the most.





by the assumptions about political culture and citizenship that they had brought to the prison camp from America.

For tomorrow's class, reread Parts 1 and 2 of the Stoerpenberg story to gather information about political culture and citizenship. Use the questions below to help guide your study:

1. What were some of the major attitudes, beliefs, and values of the Stoerpenberg prisoners?
2. What assumptions did the prisoners make about the roles of citizens in the political system of the camp?

FOR THOUGHT:

If Stoerpenberg had been an American prison camp filled with German prisoners, would they have set up a government much like the one you have been studying? Why or why not?

4 ANALYZING A POLITICAL SYSTEM BY USING CONCEPTS

A SUMMARY ESSAY

Modern democratic society demands educated men and women—men and women who have been taught to think. To participate in political life, citizens must be able to think independently. Modern industry also demands educated minds. As technology becomes more complex, the number of routine jobs declines. The modern economy requires workers who can think for themselves.

Man's knowledge of the world grows very rapidly. Ten years from now, man will know about twice as much as he knows today. In twenty years, he will know four times as much. In thirty years, his knowledge will have increased eightfold. Because of this "knowledge explosion," education should not stress mere memorization. Education, from elementary school through college, must stress techniques of learning. Only the mind which has been trained in this way can keep pace with the knowledge explosion.

Education should teach students how to learn and how to think independently. Educated men and women know how to state a problem worth thinking about. They know how to develop a hypothesis—a tentative answer to a problem posed in the form of a question. They know how to gather information and to separate fact from fiction. They know how to answer the question they started with and to support this answer with the information they have gathered.

Concepts are tools for education. They are aids for learning and thinking. Chapter 1 introduced five concepts from political science: decision-makers, decision-making, institutions, political culture, and citizenship. You probably have beginning definitions of each of these concepts now. In **Comparative Political Systems**, you will use these concepts to analyze three types of governments: the primitive government of the Cheyenne Indians, the modern authoritarian government of the Soviet Union, and the modern democratic government of the United States. These three governments are very different, but you will employ the same five concepts to analyze them. As the course proceeds, your understanding of each concept and your ability to define it will improve. You will also learn to use the concepts as tools for independent thought. A few examples may make this point clear.

How can knowledge of concepts learned in this course help you to understand and learn from books such as these?



Suppose you enroll in a history course next year and your teacher gives you materials about the government of France in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Louis XIV. Your teacher may say, "Write a paper describing the government of Louis XIV." The materials may include letters written by important people of the period, a diary, the minutes of meetings held by the king and his advisers, orders from the king to officials in various parts of the country, and other documents. Knowledge about the five concepts you have studied would help you to know what to look for in this material.

To analyze this political system, you would need to gather information about the decision-makers, beginning with the king himself. What was he like? How did he get to power and stay in power? What advisers did he choose to help him? What were they like? You would also study political institutions. Did Louis XIV have a congress? If not, what legislative institutions did exist? You would analyze the decision-making process. How did the government decide to raise taxes or to declare war? You would also try to learn something about the roles that citizens played in this government. Did they help to shape decisions? Or did they merely do what the government told them to do? Finally, you would try to analyze the political culture, the body of attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills which help to explain why a particular society develops a particular type of government.

You can also use your knowledge of concepts to analyze life around you. Many students apply knowledge from this course to analyze the governments of their families. In some families, parents rule without sharing decision-making power. In others, discussions with all the members of the family precede major decisions. Using the five concepts of this course, you can examine the way your family operates and think about how you will "govern" when you are a parent. Concepts can similarly help you to study your student government and the social groups to which you belong.

Using concepts leads to asking analytical questions. For example, a concept such as decision-making suggests a number of questions. What are the formal rules for decision-making? How do decision-makers gather information? How are decisions carried out? Questions such as these, flowing out of concepts, help you to know what to look for as you study a political system.

Listed below are the five major concepts used in this course. Under each concept appear several analytical questions which the concept suggests. Study the questions, but do not try to memorize them. Use them as a starting place for study. These are

not the only questions that can be used to analyze a political system. As you study, you may wish to add questions and even concepts to the list. Concepts and analytical questions are tools. They become valuable only when you use them to become an independent thinker.

1. *Political Decision-Makers*—the group of people who make, interpret, and enforce the rules of a political system

- a. Who are the decision-makers? What are their personal characteristics? Their social backgrounds?
- b. Which decision-makers are political leaders with support from groups of citizens? Which ones are not leaders?
- c. How does a society recruit its decision-makers? What formal and informal rules does it establish for giving decision-making authority?
- d. What must a person do to get and keep a position as a decision-maker? To whom does he appeal? How does he appeal? How does he stay in power?

2. *Political Decision-Making*—the process by which a political system makes, enforces, and interprets rules

- a. What are the formal and informal rules for making decisions?
- b. How do decision-makers gather information? How does this way of gathering information influence the decision-making process?
- c. How are decisions carried out? How does the society enforce decisions once they are made?
- d. How are decision-makers, institutions, citizens, and the political culture related to the decision-making process?

3. *Political Institutions*—organizations and ways of handling political decisions

- a. What are the political institutions of the society? What functions does each institution have?
- b. What authority has been officially delegated to an institution? What authority has an institution assumed unofficially?
- c. How do political institutions influence the decision-making process?

4. *Political Culture*—the beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills of the people who are part of a political system
 - a. Are citizens aware of the role of government in their lives?
 - b. Can citizens influence decision-makers? Do they think that they can influence decision-makers?
 - c. How do people who live in the society learn about the political system?
 - d. Are the people of the society isolated from the political system? Are they subject to what it does but unable to influence decisions? Or do they participate in the entire political process?
5. *Citizenship*—the part played by an individual within a political system
 - a. How, if at all, does a citizen influence the government's use of power? Does he play a part in the decision-making process? Can he influence decision-makers? Is he an allegiant citizen, a dissenting citizen, or an alienated citizen?
 - b. How does a citizen gather information about his government?
 - c. How does government affect the life of a citizen? Does it restrict his freedom? protect his freedom? enlarge his freedom?
 - d. What responsibilities does a participating citizen have to the political system?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 1

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 1A: A matching exercise about concepts (individual or group)
There are dittoed sheets labeled Activity 1A in the materials for individual and group activities. These sheets contain descriptions of situations illustrating the concepts defined in Chapter 1. Match each situation with the concept it illustrates, then make up additional examples of your own to be included with those already there.

Activity 1B: Picture essay of the political system of your school (individual)

Compile a picture essay that shows how the political system of your school operates. You may construct this essay from photographs that you have taken, or you may make your own drawings. Your teacher can then keep and use your material in future classes.

Primitive and Traditional Political Systems

STATING THE ISSUE

Political scientists divide political systems into three major types: primitive, traditional, and modern. The dictionary defines primitive as “belonging to or characteristic of an early stage of development.” The term does not imply savagery or a low level of moral or artistic life. It suggests only an early stage in evolution—in this case, the evolution of a political system. Although most primitive systems have disappeared, a few still exist in isolated places. They can be found, for example, among the Eskimoes in the Arctic, a few mountain tribes in Africa, and the Bedouins of Africa’s Sahara.

Traditional political systems are more numerous than primitive systems. However, they also are disappearing under the pressure of a swiftly changing world. A traditional society has firm roots in the past. Its leaders make decisions on the basis of custom and tradition. Its institutions and ways of behavior, developed in the past, determine what happens in the present. But the roles of its leaders—religious, political, social, and military—have become more specialized. In a primitive society, the same man or group of men holds all the leadership positions. In a traditional society, however, these roles are divided among different men or groups. A traditional political society tends to change slowly, since most of the leaders and people share its values.

In contrast to traditional and primitive societies, modern political systems are complex, highly specialized, and flexible. Most modern systems fit into one of two types: democracies or authoritarian states. Democracies have majority rule, minority

CHAPTER 2

rights, and pluralistic societies in which the government and private groups share power. In modern authoritarian states, one man or a few men hold power. These states show less concern about protecting minority rights. They do not share power with private individuals or groups.

Chapter 2 contains information about a primitive political system as it existed among the Cheyenne Indians in the United States during the middle of the nineteenth century. Use the five concepts you learned about in Chapter 1 to help you analyze the Cheyenne political system.

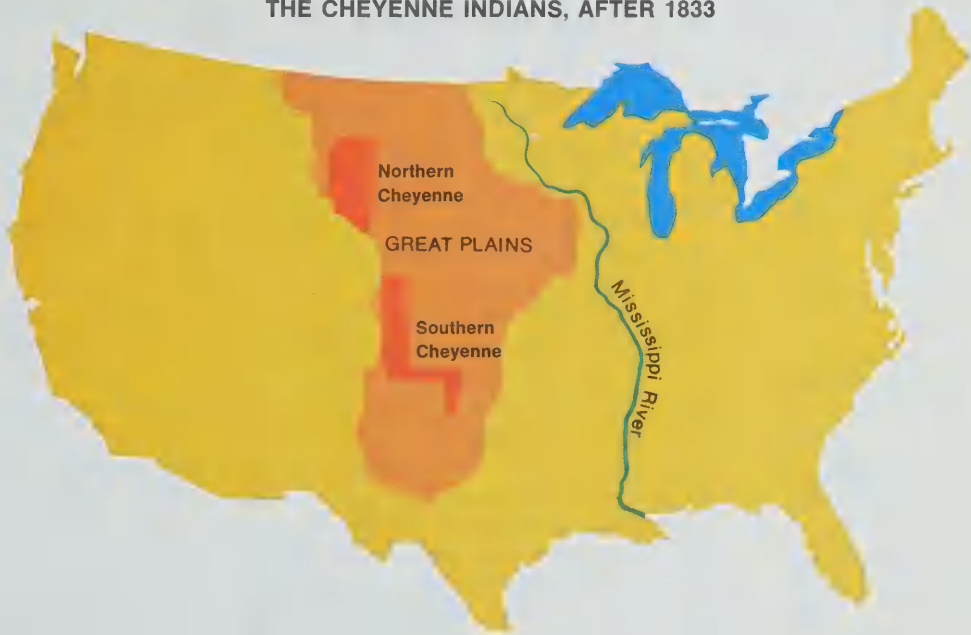
5 POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS AND INSTITUTIONS: THE CHEYENNE

Political scientists have gathered much information about modern democracies and modern authoritarian political systems. They have observed these societies carefully. They have interviewed their leaders and ordinary citizens. They have studied newspapers, government records, and other written sources.

Political scientists have less information about primitive political systems. The people who lived in most primitive political systems could not write. Hence, they left no records from which modern men could learn about them. Political science and anthropology—the study of man's origins and development—achieved their present form in the twentieth century, and particularly during the last twenty-five years. Information about primitive political systems is scarce, since most of those societies had disappeared before social scientists knew how to study them.

Some anthropologists have learned about primitive political systems, however, by reading accounts that travelers or other visitors wrote. Others have interviewed old people who were members of these societies. These old people told of events they had seen in their youth or had heard about from their parents and grandparents. Anthropologists Karl N. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel lived among the Cheyenne Indians for several years, observing how they lived, gathering what records they could,

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS, AFTER 1833



and interviewing old members of the tribe. The Cheyenne had lived on the Great Plains west of the Mississippi River during the middle years of the nineteenth century before white Americans drove them from their lands.

Llewellyn and Hoebel printed stories told to them by the Cheyenne in a book describing Cheyenne life during the mid-1800's. Reading 5 tells how a young Cheyenne was punished by the Bowstring Soldiers, a military society of Cheyenne warriors. As you read this story, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What did Pawnee do? What did the Bowstring Soldiers do to him? What action did High Backed Wolf then take?
2. Does there seem to be a separate group of institutions and leaders among the Cheyenne concerned only with politics? Or are political leaders and institutions involved in the economic, social, military, and religious areas of life also?

Karl N. Llewellyn and
E. Adamson Hoebel, *The
Cheyenne Way* (Norman:
University of Oklahoma
Press, 1941), pp. 6-9.

How High Backed Wolf Saved Pawnee

Black Wolf, a member of the Northern Cheyenne, told this story to Hoebel and Llewellyn. The events he describes took place sometime during the period 1840-1870.

Pawnee was a Southern Cheyenne when he was a very young man, but in his later years he lived up here with us. He was all the time looking out after the people's morals and counseling the boys on good behavior. I have heard him tell his story many times when I was a youth, because he was always telling it to us as a lesson. He had been an awful rascal down there in Oklahoma when he was young, stealing meat from people's racks, taking their horses for joyrides without asking them for them, and then when he got to where he was going, he would just turn the horse loose and let it wander back to its owner—if it did. He was disrespectful to people and sassied them back. Everyone thought he was a mean boy, and whatever happened in the camp, he got blamed for it. This story I am going to tell happened just after that trouble Wolf Lies Down had over the borrowed horse, when the soldiers made the rule that no one in the camp could take another person's horse without permission. This is what Pawnee used to tell us:

Down there [in Oklahoma] were two spotted horses well liked in their family. One day I took them and headed west. Three days passed, and I found myself still safe. Now I was out of trouble's way, so I began to feel pretty good. On the fourth day, as I looked back I saw some people coming up. "It is nothing," I thought, "just some people traveling." When they overtook me, I saw they were Bowstring Soldiers out after me.

"You have stolen those horses," they cried as they pulled me from my horse. "Now we have trailed you down." They threw me on the ground and beat me until I could not stand; they broke up my weapons and ruined my saddle; they cut my blankets, moccasins, and kit to shreds. When they had finished, they took all my food and went off with the horses, leaving me alone on the prairie, sore and destitute, too weak and hurt to move.

The next day I started back, traveling as best I could all day long. I knew there was a small camp of buffalo hunters out, and for them I was looking. I traveled all day. The next day I thought I would die. I had no food, only water. Late in the afternoon I camped on a creek. My feet were bleeding, and I could not walk

► Do you know people who always are blamed for everything? Why does this happen?

The Bowstring Soldiers were one of several Cheyenne military societies. Some of them were police and soldier bands. Others were mainly social clubs whose members occasionally went out on hunting trips.

farther. I crawled slowly on my hands and knees to the brow of a high hill to find a place to die. I waited in mourning. Far to the south of me, I could see the rolling country; to the west my view was blocked. My pipe and tobacco were gone. Without smoke I sat there thinking of a great many things as I watched the blood drip from my swollen feet.

As I gazed steadfastly into the south, a hunter came up the hill from behind me. When he saw me, he stopped and watched me for a long time. After three days and two nights in my condition, I must have been nearly deaf, for I did not hear him until he spoke from his horse right behind me. I was naked. I fell over in a fright when I heard his voice start out in the silence.

This man dismounted and hugged me. He wept, he felt so bad at seeing my plight. It was High Backed Wolf, a young man, but a chief (see illustration on p. 30). He put his blanket about me and took me home. The camp was on the creek below, hidden just around a bend where I had not seen it. His wife gave me food and nourished me.

Then High Backed Wolf sent for the chiefs who were in the camp. Four or five came, one of whom was a soldier chief.

High Backed Wolf spoke to the soldier chief first. "This is the first time since I have become a big (tribal) chief that I have happened upon such a poor man; now I am going to outfit him. Until he is fixed up, I shall ask no more questions. Then we shall learn how he came to be naked. I am not going to ask you to give anything unless you wish to do so. I know this man," he said. "He is a great smoker. But I shall give him no smoke until he has first eaten." (In my own mind I said, "I'd rather smoke first.")

First they gave me a little soup; then some meat.

High Backed Wolf then filled the pipe. As he held it to the five directions, he prayed, "This is my first good act as chief. Help this man to tell the truth." Then he held the pipe for me to smoke; then he gave it to the next man and to the others. Now he faced me again. "Now you tell the truth. Have you been caught by enemies and stripped? Or was it something else? You saw me smoke this pipe; you have touched it with your own lips. That is to help you tell the truth. If you tell us straightly, Maiyun will help you."

I told them the whole story. I told them whose horses they were, and I told them it was the Bowstrings who had punished me.

High Backed Wolf knew I was a rascal, so he lectured to me. "You are old enough now to know what is right," he preached. "You have been to war. Now leave off this foolishness. If it had been that I had not ridden out into the hills today, you would

A chief was a member of the Cheyenne tribal council, the political decision-making body. Forty-four chiefs served on the council. After a ten-year term, a chief chose his successor, often his son.

A soldier chief had shown bravery in battle.

Some sources say that the pipe was offered in six directions: sky, earth, north, south, east, and west.

Maiyun was the Cheyenne name for the supernatural.

have died. No one would have known the end of you. You know how we Cheyenne try to live. You know how we hunt, how we go to war. When we take horses, we take them from enemies, not from Cheyenne. You had better join a military society. You can learn good behavior from the soldiers. Yet I ask only one thing of you. Be decent from now on! Stop stealing! Stop making fun of people! Use no more bad language in the camp! Lead a good life!

“Now I am going to help you out. That is what I am here for, because I am a chief of the people. Here are your clothes. Outside are three horses. You may take your choice!” He gave me a six-shooter. “Here is a mountain-lion skin. I used to wear this in the parades. Now I give it to you.” He offered me all these things, and I took them.

The others gave me beaver skins to braid in my hair, beads, and extra moccasins, and two more horses.

Then High Backed Wolf ended it. “Now I am not going to tell you to leave this camp. You may stay here as long as you wish. I shall not tell you which direction to go, west or south.”

I had a sweetheart in the south, but when these people did this for me, I felt ashamed. I had all those things with which to look beautiful, but I did not dare to go back, for I knew she would have heard what the Bowstrings had done to me. I thought it wisest to go north until the thing was dead.

When the arrows were next renewed, the Foxes put up their lodge to get more men. I went in [joined]. Still, I never got it out of my heart that it had been those Bowstrings. Whenever my Fox troop was on duty, I was out looking for those men or their families to do something wrong. I always looked for a Bowstring to slip, so I could beat him well. I stayed with the Northern Cheyenne a long, long time, until the Horse Creek Treaty. Though I came to be a chief of the Fox Soldiers among the northern people, I never amounted to much with the southern bands. Those people always remembered me as a no-good.

You boys remember that. You may run away, but your people always remember. You just obey the rules of the camp, and you'll do all right.

FOR THOUGHT:

Does the dictionary definition of primitive—“belonging to or characteristic of an early stage of development”—seem to be an appropriate description of the Cheyenne political system? Why or why not?

The Renewal of Arrows was a Cheyenne religious ceremony.

The Foxes were a military society.

The Horse Creek Treaty, 1851, pledged several tribes to peace among themselves and with the white men.

► What would happen in a society if everyone always obeyed “the rules of the camp”?

6 DECISION-MAKING: THE CHEYENNE

Small, simple societies often have primitive political systems. Eskimoes, American Indians, Bedouin tribesmen of Africa's Sahara have never united into large nations. Instead, families, groups of families with a common ancestor, or the descendants of several family groups have lived together, separated from other groups or larger unions. Each group developed its own political system.

These groups did not need complicated governments. Partly for this reason, the most important political decision-makers were also leaders in other areas of life. In addition to their political roles, they were soldiers, priests, and economic leaders. In modern political systems, however, political leaders, religious leaders, military leaders, and economic leaders usually are different people.

Primitive societies had no need for complicated political institutions. Sometimes a family council was the only formal political body. In larger groups, the heads of families might have met to make decisions. Tribes such as the Cheyenne were large enough to require a decision-making council to which the chiefs belonged. This institution made all important political decisions. It saw that the rules were obeyed, decided whether a rule had been broken in a particular case, and made new rules when necessary.

Modern political systems have complicated decision-making procedures. Political parties, groups of people with similar interests, and the media—newspapers, radio, and television—all play a part in decision-making. Primitive and traditional systems were far less complex. Yet they followed the same basic processes which are at work in modern political systems.

Reading 6 describes decision-making among the Cheyenne Indians in the mid-nineteenth century. It contains two interviews with old Indians who recalled events that had occurred many years before. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. Who brought a political issue up for a decision? How did he get others to support him?
2. How was the decision made? How was it enforced?
3. Did the Cheyenne make general laws, or did they decide particular cases guided by similar cases from the past?

The Tribe Banishes and Then Welcomes Back Sticks Everything Under His Belt

Black Wolf also told Hoebel and Llewellyn this story. The "Sun Dance" to which he refers was a Cheyenne ceremony which lasted several days. Each Sun Dance was inaugurated by a "pledger," or sponsor, who organized it. The ceremony combined different elements: the building of a new lodge, rituals performed by priests, public dancing, and various forms of self-torture for the purpose of making sacrifice (see illustration of Sun Dance tepee on p. 32).

► How do you feel about someone who rejects the rules of his society, although he does not leave that society?

Council meetings were conducted with great ceremony. One of the older chiefs announced the discussion topic. Older chiefs spoke first, and younger chiefs followed.

Once, at a time when all the Cheyenne tribe was gathered together, Sticks Everything Under His Belt went out hunting buffalo alone. "I am hunting for myself," he told the people. He was implying that the rules against individual hunting did not apply to him because he was declaring himself out of the tribe — a man on his own.

All the soldier chiefs and all the tribal chiefs met in a big lodge to decide what to do in this case, since such a thing had never happened before. This was the ruling they made: no one could help Sticks Everything Under His Belt in any way; no one could give him smoke; no one could talk to him. They were cutting him off from the tribe. The chiefs declared that if anyone helped him in any way, that person would have to give a Sun Dance.

When the camp moved, Sticks Everything Under His Belt moved with it, but the people would not recognize him. He was left alone, and it went to his heart, so he took one of his horses (he had many) and rode out to the hilltops to mourn.

His sister's husband was a chief in the camp. This brother-in-law felt sorry for him out there mourning, with no more friends. At last he took pity on his poor brother-in-law; at last he spoke to his wife: "I feel sorry for your poor brother out there, and now I am going to do something for him. Cook up all those tongues we have! Prepare a good feast!"

Then he invited the chiefs to his lodge and sent for his brother-in-law to come in. This was after several years had passed, not months.

When the chiefs had assembled, the brother-in-law spoke. "Several years ago you passed a ruling that no one could help

this man. Whoever should do so, you said, would have to give a Sun Dance. Now is the time to take pity on him. I am going to give a Sun Dance to bring him back in. I beg you to let him come back to the tribe, for he has suffered long enough. This Sun Dance will be a great one. I declare that every chief and all the soldiers must join in. Now I put it up to you. Shall we let my brother-in-law smoke before we eat, or after?"

The chiefs all answered in accord, "Ha-ho, ha-ho [thank you, thank you]. We are very glad you are going to bring back this man. However, let him remember that he will be bound by whatever rules the soldiers lay down for the tribe. He may not say he is outside of them. He has been out of the tribe for a long time. If he remembers these things, he may come back. . . ."

Cries Yia Eya Banished for the Murder of Chief Eagle

Calf Woman told this story to the anthropologists.

Cries Yia Eya had been gone from the camp for three years because he had killed Chief Eagle in a whiskey brawl. The chiefs had ordered him away for his murder, so we did not see anything of him for that time. Then one day he came back, leading a horse packed with bundles of old-time tobacco. He stopped outside the camp and sent a messenger in with the horse and tobacco who was to say to the chiefs for him, "I am begging to come home."

The chiefs all got together for a meeting, and the soldier societies were told to convene, for there was an important matter to be considered. The tobacco was divided up, and chiefs' messengers were sent out to invite the soldier chiefs to come to the lodge of the tribal council, for the big chiefs wanted to talk to them (see illustration of a council meeting on p. 33). "Here is the tobacco that that man sent in," they told the soldier chiefs. "Now we want you soldiers to decide if you think we should accept his request. If you decide that we should let him return, then it is up to you to convince his family that it is all right. . . ."

The soldier chiefs took the tobacco and went out to gather their troops. Each [soldier] society met in its own separate lodge to talk among themselves, but the society servants kept passing

Llewellyn and Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*, pp. 12-13.

The council discussed all important tribal matters, and all chiefs gave their opinions. Sometimes the council consulted leaders of the military societies. In summer, the skin walls of the council lodge were rolled up, and the whole tribe listened to the debate.

A PRIMITIVE POLITICAL CULTURE

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Cheyenne Indians still carried on the traditions of their ancestors, as the photographs on these and the following two pages illustrate.



A Cheyenne chief



Cheyenne priests passing before the pipe in a religious ceremony

A Cheyenne Indian brave





A Sun Dance tent; inside, a dance is in progress.



A Cheyenne village on the Washita River in Oklahoma

Cheyennes and Arapahoes in a council meeting



► Do you know anyone who is a good worker but a mean person? Would you overlook his meanness if he did his job well?

back and forth between their different lodges to report on the trend of the discussion in the different companies.

At last one man said, "I think it is all right. I believe the stink has blown from him. Let him return!" This view was passed around, and this is the view that won out among the soldiers. Then the father of Chief Eagle was sent for and asked whether he would accept the decision. "Soldiers," he replied, "I shall listen to you. Let him return! But if that man comes back, I want never to hear his voice raised against another person. . . ."

Cries Yia Eya had always been a mean man, disliked by everyone, but he had been a fierce fighter against the enemies. After he came back to the camp, however, he was always good to the people.

FOR THOUGHT:

How rapidly would a political system that worked like this one change?

7 POLITICAL CULTURE AND CITIZENSHIP: THE CHEYENNE

Political systems reflect the societies of which they are a part. The prisoners at Stoerpenberg Camp elected men to run their government and gave each person one vote. The prisoners had grown up in the United States where they had learned to make political decisions in that way. Soldiers from an authoritarian society might have put one man or a few men in charge. The Cheyenne in the same situation might have organized still a third type of political system, which would have reflected their political culture.

Each society defines good citizenship according to its value system. The United States expects men and women to take an interest in politics, to stay informed, to vote, to work for legislation they care about, and, if qualified, to run for public office. Past societies placed little value on widespread participation. Women usually played no important part in politics. Most men were also barred from a real role in political decision-making. Only the rich or the brave or those with religious power or some other special qualifications gained important rights in the political system. The definition of a good citizen among the Cheyenne also reflected the values of the Cheyenne community.

Toward the end of the 1600's, the Cheyenne Indians had settled along the Red River, which separates what is now Minnesota from the Dakotas. They built permanent villages of earth lodges. They planted corn, beans, and squash, and got meat by hunting. About 1760, however, Spanish missionaries and explorers brought horses to the Great Plains. By 1830 the Cheyenne had acquired horses, and their way of life changed quickly. They left their permanent villages and stopped tilling the soil in order to hunt the buffalo. These animals provided them with meat, furs, and bone. The travels of the Cheyenne often brought them into conflict with Indians from other tribes.

Gradually the Cheyenne tribe divided into ten large bands. The bands traveled over the plains, hunting the buffalo and living in buffalo-skin lodges which they moved from place to place. The entire tribe came together only in the spring. Then the ten bands gathered for a religious festival, tribal council, and communal hunt. As summer approached, the bands separated again and drifted out onto the plains.

Reading 7 concludes this study of the Cheyenne by looking at their political culture and ideas about citizenship. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What were the major political beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills in Cheyenne society?
2. As a citizen, what role did Two Twists take in the case of Red Robe? What characteristics made Two Twists a good citizen by Cheyenne standards?

When Two Twists Led the Cheyenne Against the Crow

Stump Horn told this story to Hoebel and Llewellyn.

Red Robe's two sons were killed by the Crows quite a while back. Their father in his grief stood before his lodge in mourning and called out, "All of my horses are for those who take them." He threw the whole herd away, not keeping even one for himself to ride upon.

The Dog Soldiers went out to herd his horses together, because they simply were not going to see the old man afoot. "No one is going to take these horses," they said. Then they sent an old man to see Red Robe.

Llewellyn and Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*, pp. 3-6.

The Dog Soldiers were a military society.

► Astronaut Virgil I. Grissom (1926–1967) died when fire destroyed a Project Apollo spaceship on land. Many Americans feel Grissom died “the glorious death” in the service of his country. But his widow sued the Apollo manufacturer. What would you have done in a similar situation?

► Do you think that revenge is ever justified? If so, when?

To vapor away means to disappear like steam into the air.

“Your sons died like men,” this messenger reminded him. “They died the glorious death, not in bed sick. Why don’t you take back some ponies?”

“No,” Red Robe replied. “Maiyun wanted my sons to die in battle, and it wants that I should be afoot awhile.” Whatever they said, they could not budge him.

Finally, four soldier troops [the Elk, Bowstring, Dog, and Fox] decided to go talk to him. He had been a good man in the tribe, and here he was destitute [extremely poor]. When the camp moved, he was the last to come along. He had nothing to camp with, but just stayed in the open. This had gone on three or four months when the soldiers got together. They all came to Red Robe, but one or two did the talking for them all. “We are begging you to do what we ask you—we are not alone—see them all—every company among us is here. We still have your horses. Come in among the people.”

Still he was unmoved by all their pleading. At last Two Twists, a chief of the Bowstring Soldiers, came forward. “Say yes,” he implored the old man. “Say yes, and we will promise you to go to war against the Crows wherever they may be. Say yes, and I’ll get revenge for you whatever the risks. If they be in breastworks [fortifications], I’ll drive them out.”

“I accept,” the bereaved old man finally answered. “I did not want to take those horses back after giving them away. It’s like taking back a thing given to a friend.”

“No, it is not like that to us,” the soldiers all assured him.

So Red Robe came into camp. In the days which followed after, Two Twists prepared his pipe, taking it to all the soldier societies. Everyone smoked, whole troops pledging themselves to vengeance on the Crows. When all was ready, the societies moved to the raid in a body. Women and children went too, for the whole tribe was on the march. Two Twists was the leader of them all.

When they had come close to the enemy, Two Twists rode about the camp accompanied by his crier, who called for the people to listen. Two Twists spoke in this vein. “Look at me now. Soon I am about to follow the two sons of Red Robe. My friends, behold me; I shall never return from this raid.”

The women all came out of their lodges to gaze at him. They sang him many heartening songs of which one was this—“Only the rocks lie here and never move. The human being vapors away.” That night Two Twists sang the war songs of the Bowstring Soldiers.

The people were anxious to face the enemy, but the chiefs held them in. In the meantime the Crow scouts had spotted the

Cheyenne and warned their camp. That night they built a breastwork of all their tepees arranged in a semicircle.

The next morning, Two Twists was out in the camp again. "I sing for the last time," he cried. "People, behold me! This is my last time to walk on earth."

From all around, folks brought him feathers to help him in the thing he was to do. They tied them to his war bonnet, to his horse's mane, and to its tail.

At last the fighters went toward the Crow camp. Two Twists led them, armed only with a saber. When they were before the enemy, he ordered his followers to hold back; he had his promise to fulfill. And so they all watched as he rode out alone toward the waiting enemy.

Straight at the tepees and into the breastwork he charged, slashing off the head of a Crow warrior as he broke through. He wheeled about, charging into the thick of them again, working havoc where his sword fell. The Crows shot, but missed and missed. Then our people saw Two Twists disappear among them in hand-to-hand struggle.

Then the Cheyenne charged into the Crows, killing them on all sides. Red Robe's wife charged with an ax. Wherever she found a Crow dead or wounded, she split his skull to smear the blood of the enemy upon her face and arms . . .

Two Twists was not killed, and from his deeds he derived the greatest honor. People said he had done his work; they would never let him do it again; he need not fulfill his vow to die. Back in camp, Two Twists sent for Red Robe and his two wives and children. He himself stripped them of their mourning rags and dressed them well. Many things were given to the women, and now Red Robe took back his horses. They, too, participated in the victory joy of the camp.

Red Robe went back to his lodge and in his turn sent for a crier to get Two Twists. Red Robe was accepting felicitations [congratulations] from everybody. To each person who came to greet him, he gave a horse. He painted the faces of all adult comers with black charcoal—the symbol of joy in the death of the enemy. Of all his horses he kept only a few for himself, and this time he was not stopped by the soldiers.

At the end, he adopted Two Twists for his son. Two Twists was not a tribal chief then, only the leader of a soldier society; later he was made a big chief. . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

Was Two Twists guided more by careful reasoning about how to help Red Robe or by knowledge of Cheyenne customs?

8 PRIMITIVE AND TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

A SUMMARY ESSAY

Aristotle lived from 384 B.C.
to 322 B.C.

College courses in comparative political systems sometimes begin with a study of the Greek philosopher, Aristotle. More than two thousand years ago, Aristotle developed a plan for comparing governments. He based his plan on two factors: the number of people involved in political decision-making (one, a few, or many), and the interests the government tried to serve (everyone's interests or only those of the people in power). After analyzing these factors, Aristotle described six different governments. His six types were:

Monarchy: one man using his powers to help everyone

Tyranny: one man using his powers for his own benefit

Aristocracy: a few men acting in everyone's interests

Oligarchy: a few men working for their own benefit

Polity: many people working for the welfare of all

Democracy: many (usually the poor) acting in their own interest and suppressing the rights of the minority

Political scientists no longer accept Aristotle's scheme. It seems oversimplified and uses definitions, such as the one for democracy, which are no longer acceptable. Today, scholars divide political systems into three major types—primitive, traditional, and modern—with the modern being subdivided into democracies and authoritarian systems. How scholars classify a system depends upon three factors: 1) whether the political institutions are separate from the economic, religious, social, and military institutions; 2) whether the leaders make their political decisions on the basis of factual evidence and careful reasoning; and 3) what the people think about their government and how they act toward it.

You have been studying a primitive political system as it worked among the Cheyenne Indians in the nineteenth century. The Cheyenne did not know that they governed themselves with a primitive political system. Modern political scientists

invented this concept, just as they invented such concepts as leadership or democracy. They observed a number of political systems which seemed to have much in common. Then they chose a concept to include all of these systems. The name "primitive political system" makes sense because the word primitive means "belonging to or characteristic of an early stage of development".

Men of all races and nationalities are descended from ancestors who governed themselves through primitive political systems. The ancient German tribesmen who attacked the Roman Empire had a primitive political system. So did the Viking bands who raided the British Isles from what is now Scandinavia. So did the clans who lived in the highlands of Scotland. African, Asian, and American Indian tribes also governed themselves with primitive political systems in the past. Whether a people had a primitive political system, then, has nothing to do with race or color. It only marks an early stage of development.

The Cheyenne political system can be called primitive for three main reasons. First, the Cheyenne had no separate political system. In modern systems, such as those of the United States and the Soviet Union, the political system is separated from the military, religious, social, and economic systems. In Cheyenne society, these systems were not separate. The military, economic, and political systems were tied together because soldier groups made many political decisions and brave warriors became chiefs. The religious and political systems were intertwined through such ceremonies as offering the pipe to the spirits at a tribal council. The social and political systems were also closely linked. The brother-in-law of Sticks Everything Under His Belt persuaded the tribe to take his relative back.

A second reason for classifying the Cheyenne political system as primitive involves its method of decision-making. In modern political systems, men try to decide matters by looking at the evidence and reasoning carefully from it. The Cheyenne, however, based many political decisions on impulse, superstition, or custom. The tribal council sought supernatural help as they made political decisions. They relied heavily on the way things had been done in the past. Rather than looking ahead to make new general laws to cover common problems, the Cheyenne met each case as it occurred. Usually they tried to settle cases as they had been settled in the past. This practice worked, so long as outsiders did not challenge the system. But it could not save a society from a foe with a sophisticated political system in which men planned carefully to solve future problems.

Races are the population groups which constitute mankind. Differences among races are biological. Three major races exist: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid.

► Why do some people think that a good general makes a good President?

► How, if at all, would American government improve if politicians began each activity by asking guidance from God?

Third, the Cheyenne had little knowledge of their political system and few specific feelings about it. Most citizens of modern political systems know about their government, have strong feelings about it, and make judgments about whether it is good or bad. A typical Cheyenne, however, probably could not identify his political leaders, because he did not think of politics as something separate from economics or religion or social life. He had little knowledge of government and few feelings about it. Rather than judge whether it was good or bad, he simply accepted it as right.

Few primitive political systems still exist. Those which have survived can be found only in isolated places such as mountains, deserts, or the Arctic. The rest have been swept away before the need for a flexible system that can adjust to the changes that occur daily in the modern world.

In addition to the primitive political system described in this chapter, political scientists have also identified political systems which they call traditional. Traditional political systems resemble primitive systems in many ways, but they include a few modern elements. Europe during the Middle Ages may serve as an example.

In medieval Europe, a political system known as feudalism developed. Kings and nobles headed feudal governments and ruled with the help of advisors. Although these rulers were also warriors and economic leaders, their primary roles were as political leaders. Unlike the Cheyenne, their roles in military and economic life became less important. And the political institutions set up under feudalism had less to do with economic and social matters than political institutions among the Cheyenne.

Political leaders under feudalism based their decisions on a more rational process than the Cheyenne used. Like the Cheyenne, they blended rational decision-making with custom and religion. But they also had written laws and used judges who were guided by evidence as they made legal decisions. In time, rational decision-making played a more and more important role in feudal society.

Both the Cheyenne and the Europeans who lived under feudalism knew little about their political systems. Serfs who farmed the manors, or estates, knew the lord of their manor and felt a basic loyalty to him. They also knew a little about the king and about more important nobles than the local lord. They felt little loyalty to these higher political leaders, however, and probably never bothered to think whether they were good or bad. On the whole, then, the people living under feudalism had

a narrow view of their political system, but they were a little more sophisticated than the Cheyenne.

Because so few primitive and traditional political systems still exist, this course deals with them only briefly. They will be mentioned now and then in future chapters, mainly to provide a contrast with modern systems. The rest of this course will focus on two examples of modern political systems. The United States represents an advanced democracy. The Soviet Union represents an extreme example of a modern authoritarian state. Most of the remaining countries of the world can also be classified as democracies or authoritarian states. Their governments differ from each other in many ways, however—mainly because these nations developed with different traditions and different resources. But all governments may be analyzed by using the five concepts employed in this book.

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 2

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 2A: Analysis of a primitive political system (individual)

Read the article in the **Book of Readings** which describes daily life among the Maori people of New Zealand. Then, applying what you have learned about primitive political systems, write a short essay analyzing the government of the Maoris.

Activity 2B: Interview with an anthropologist (individual)

In a recorded interview, an anthropologist describes how he studies the political system of a primitive society. Listen to this interview and answer the questions in the related Study Guide.



UNIT 2

Political Culture

Political Culture in the United States

STATING THE ISSUE

Everyone grows up in a culture that helps to shape his beliefs, attitudes, values, and skills. Children whose parents take them to religious services regularly are more likely to believe in God than those whose parents do not. People who make insulting remarks about members of minority groups influence their children to be prejudiced also. Societies that honor people who do volunteer work for such organizations as the United Fund or the Red Cross encourage their youth to work selflessly for others. And schools that hold elections for their student councils and urge students to participate help to teach the skills necessary for democratic politics.

As a part of its general culture, every society has a political culture. The prisoners at Stoenpenberg whom you have read about came from a political culture that was not at all like that of the Cheyenne Indians. Partly for this reason, they developed a different political system from that of the Cheyenne. Similarly, peasants on a Soviet farm and workers in an American city grow up in widely different political cultures. These cultural differences help to explain why the political systems of the two nations are so very different.

Chapter 3 analyzes the political culture of the United States. It begins with a general essay about political cultures. The essay introduces the concepts and vocabulary you will need to help you understand what the term means. Three readings comparing the political culture of the United States with those of four other western democracies follow. The final reading gives information about the present political culture of the United

CHAPTER 3

States. Throughout the chapter, you will learn what influence the political culture of the United States has had on the development of a democratic society here.

9 THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Most high school students do not understand the concept of "political culture." Political scientists themselves began to use it only a few years ago. But the concept is coming into wider and wider use. Many college government textbooks now discuss political culture. Historians also have begun to study political culture in order to understand how different political systems developed. Students of social studies must learn what political culture means if they wish to understand the nature of government.

Political scientists have identified three basic types of political culture: parochial, subject, and participant. In reality, none of these political cultures can be found in its pure form. Every political system contains a mixture of the three types. Nevertheless, it is possible to classify a society as primarily parochial, subject, or participant by finding out how a majority of its citizens feel and behave toward the political system.

A person who is parochial knows little or nothing about his country or his government. He has a limited awareness, if any, that he belongs to a group larger than his family or his clan. Because he knows nothing about the political system, he expects nothing from it.

A subject has a passive relationship to the political system. He is aware of what the government does, acknowledges its decisions, and obeys its laws. But he does not actively participate; he does not try to influence his government by voting, lobbying, or protesting.

A participant views himself as an active member of his political system. He contributes by giving his opinion on the issues, by lobbying for or against proposed legislation, by voting, by running for office, and sometimes by protesting if he thinks his leaders are wrong.

Political scientists determine whether a person is a parochial, a subject, or a participant by his answers to the following four sets of questions:

1. What does he know about his nation and its political system? Does he know how big it is, where it is located, who its leaders are, and how its government is organized? What feelings, if any, does he have about the nation? Which of its activities does he approve of? disapprove of?
2. Does he know about the laws of the country? Is he willing to obey them? If he thinks they are bad, does he try lawfully to change them?
3. Does he know how to get laws made and how to influence officials who carry out the laws? What feelings and opinions does he have about ways to influence officials?
4. What does he know about his rights and responsibilities? Does he value his rights as a citizen?

Keeping these questions in mind, look at the illustrations on this and the next page. For each one, decide whether you are looking at a person who is acting primarily as a parochial, primarily as a subject, or primarily as a participant.





Interview with Mr. Johnson

1. Please name the Senators from your state.

I can't remember their names right now.

2. If a man in uniform tried to arrest your father for breaking the law, what would you do?

I wouldn't let him do it because I'm loyal to my family.

3. Suppose you didn't like the way things were being run around here. What could you do about it?

I guess I don't really know. Maybe I'd just go my own way.



Political culture is actually far more complicated than these three models suggest. In the first place, one person may combine in himself elements of all three types of culture. He may not be aware of what his leaders are doing (parochial); he may feel obliged to obey the law under all circumstances (subject); but he may also believe that he has the right and the skills to take part in making laws and seeing that they are carried out fairly (participant).

In the second place, many societies contain a mix of some people who are mainly parochials, others who are mainly subjects, and still others who are mainly participants. Let's take three Americans as examples. The first is a man who has spent his entire life farming a small plot of land in the mountains. He has had no formal education. He has never voted, paid income taxes, served in the army, read a newspaper, or seen a television newscast. He is a parochial. The second American has gone to school. He is aware of his country's history and its institutions. He automatically obeys the laws without question, but he never votes or takes any other interest in political life. He is a subject. The third American is primarily a participant. He, too, knows about his country and obeys its laws. But he also reads about politics, votes in elections, and tries to influence his congressman. Each of these people represents a different type of political culture, although they all live in a society where most people are participants.

In the third place, in addition to these "pure" types of political culture, there are three types of mixed political cultures: the parochial-subject culture, the subject-participant culture, and the parochial-participant culture.

In a parochial-subject culture, many people are no longer loyal only to their family or clan or tribe. They have also learned about a central government and feel loyal to it. People in many developing nations are now passing through this stage. Once members of small tribes, they now find themselves members of a larger political unit. Their feelings of allegiance grow toward this new nation, yet they are not able to influence the decisions the government makes. And they keep their old feelings of allegiance to their tribe. They are parochial and subject at the same time.

In a subject-participant culture, most people obey the laws passively. They do not believe they can influence policy decisions, and they take no part in elections. Some of the people, however, want to influence the government and have learned how to do so. They vote, run for office, and demand democratic

► Should a new nation try to replace its citizens' loyalties to a tribe or a language group with national loyalties? Or should it encourage both sets of loyalties to exist side by side?

rights. Since two sorts of people exist side by side in the same country, it has a subject-participant culture.

A parochial-participant culture exists in a country with a newly organized democratic government where most people have lived in tribes or in isolated villages. These people are parochials. However, their new national government asks them to participate in choosing officials to make and carry out laws. A culture such as this one is parochial and participant simultaneously.

Readings 10-12 will introduce you to political culture. They compare the political culture of the United States with those of four other democracies. The readings are based on information from a survey taken in 1959 and 1960. Reading 13 contains more recent information about American political culture. Chapter 4 discusses political culture in the Soviet Union. As you study these two chapters, your knowledge of political culture will increase and you will understand the concept better. After you have finished Chapter 4, you may wish to reread this introductory essay.

10 POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE UNITED STATES

During 1959 and 1960, a team of scholars investigated the political cultures of five democracies: the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico. The leaders of the group wrote a questionnaire. Then they chose 1,000 people from each nation, 5,000 in all, to answer the questions in individual interviews lasting from forty minutes to an hour. The team attempted to get a representative sample of the population in each country. For example, if there were twice as many city dwellers as rural inhabitants, they interviewed twice as many people from the cities. They used the same method in choosing numbers of rich and poor, young and old, and so forth. The Gallup poll and the Roper poll sometimes use this sampling technique to find out how Americans feel about many political issues.

People who study political cultures should be able to compare one nation with another. If they could not make comparisons, statistics would not mean very much. For example, suppose that 65 percent of the eligible voters of a nation cast ballots in an

Gallup and Roper are two national organizations that specialize in conducting public opinion polls. They are named after their founders, George H. Gallup and Daniel Roper.

election. If 80 percent of the voters in most other democracies cast ballots in similar elections, by comparison the first nation would not seem to have effective participation. If, however, only 30 or 40 percent of the voters in other countries usually cast ballots, a 65 percent turnout would be a good showing. Instead of comparing a nation against a model of a "pure" participant political culture in which everyone takes part, political scientists think they learn more by comparing one society to others.

Reading 10 consists of five tables which show how people interviewed in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico answered the same questions. Each table presents the question the interviewer asked and statistics showing how 1,000 people from each nation answered. Below each table you will find study questions. Think about each question in preparation for the next class meeting.

TABLE 10A

Questions: The interviewers asked people to name party leaders and to name ministries (such as offices in the U.S. Cabinet).

Percentage of total sample who could				
Nation	Name four or more party leaders	Name no party leader	Name four or more ministries	Name no ministry
United States	65	16	34	28
United Kingdom	42	20	34	23
Germany	69	12	40	20
Italy	36	40	23	53
Mexico	5	53	21	47

1. In which nation did the largest percentage of the people know the names of important politicians?
2. How might knowledge of political leaders affect other political activities and attitudes?

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 58. Copyright 1965 by Little, Brown and Company (Inc.). Reprinted by permission.

This book uses both numbers and letters to identify tables. The number always refers to the reading and the letter to the sequence of the table within a reading. Thus, Table 10A is the first table in Reading 10; Table 10B is the second.

► If you should find that a friend could not name a key leader of each major political party, how would you react? Why?

TABLE 10B

Question: "Do you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs? Would you say you follow them regularly, from time to time, or never?"

U.K. stands for United Kingdom, another name for Great Britain.

Percentage who report they follow accounts	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Regularly	27	23	34	11	15
From time to time	53	45	38	26	40
Never	19	32	25	62	44
Other and don't know	1	1	3	1	1
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. In which nation are the people most interested in politics?
2. Which answer would a parochial give to the question the survey team asked? Based only on this evidence, which country seems to have the smallest percentage of parochials?

TABLE 10C

Question: "What about newspapers (radio or television, magazines)? Do you follow (listen to, read about) public affairs in newspapers (radio or television, magazines) nearly every day, about once a week, from time to time, or never?"

Percentage who follow accounts	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
In newspapers at least weekly	49	45	53	16	31
On radio or television at least weekly	58	36	52	20	28
In magazine (ever)	57	21	45	26	25

1. In which nation do people probably spend the most time learning about politics?
2. Which nation probably has the largest percentage of participants among its inhabitants?

► Suppose that you should decide to spend two hours more each week following political news. Which of your present activities would you sacrifice to make time for the news?

TABLE 10D

Question: "On the whole, do the activities of the national government tend to improve conditions in this country, or would we be better off without them?"

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 48.

Percentage who say	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
National government improves conditions	76	77	61	66	58
Sometimes improves conditions, sometimes does not	19	15	30	20	18
Better off without national government	3	3	3	5	19
National government makes no difference	1	1	1	1	2
Other	0	2	1	3	1
Don't know	1	2	4	5	2
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. In which countries do the citizens think of their government in the most positive terms?
2. Who would be more likely to be a participant—a citizen who thought highly of government, or one who had a low opinion of it?

TABLE 10E

Table 10E contains a summary of the conclusions that the authors of the questionnaire drew from the tables you have studied and from several other tables that do not appear in this book. The term "alienated" used below means that a person is dissatisfied with or hostile to the government. He may believe, for example, that government officials are corrupt, or that government neglects him.

Nation	Percentage alienated or parochial toward what government does	Percentage alienated or parochial toward participation in politics	Percentage alienated or parochial both toward what government does and toward participation in politics
United States	12	20	7
United Kingdom	26	33	14
Germany	26	28	13
Italy	42	63	38
Mexico	71	45	35

1. Which nation has the smallest percentage of alienated and/or parochial people?
2. What does this conclusion imply about the political cultures of the various nations?

11 POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES

On the whole, Reading 10 showed that people in the United States and Great Britain had the greatest amount of political knowledge. They were also more aware of what their governments could do for them. More than people in Germany, Italy, and Mexico, they thought that their national government

improved conditions. With the exception of Germany, a special case, Americans also followed politics more closely than the people interviewed in the other countries.

Table 10E summarized the conclusions that the pollsters made on the basis of the evidence they had gathered. This summary showed that a smaller proportion of Americans were either alienated or parochial in comparison to the people in the other four nations studied. In other words, a larger proportion of Americans knew what their government could do and thought that government improved conditions in the country.

The three tables in Reading 11 give information about how people in the five nations studied felt about their governments. Table 11A shows how often people "talked politics." Table 11B suggests the way they felt toward the political system in general. Table 11C shows their feelings toward the bureaucrats and police who enforce the laws. A picture exercise dealing with political attitudes appears on page 57.

A question or note introduces each table. Study questions following each table will help you to think about the issues implied by the data.

TABLE 11A

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 79.

Question: "Do you talk about public affairs to other people nearly every day, once a week, from time to time, or never?"

Percentage who report they	U. S.	U. K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Never talk politics	24	29	39	66	61
Sometimes talk politics	76	70	60	32	38
Other and don't know	0	1	1	2	1
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. Do Americans talk politics more than the people of the other four countries?
2. What does your answer to question 1 mean for an analysis of American political culture?

TABLE 11B

Question: "Speaking generally, what are the things about this country that you are most proud of?" (Notice that this question did not suggest that people mention anything about their political system. Those who praised their government did so spontaneously.)

Percentage who say they are proud of	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Government, political institutions	85	46	7	3	30
Social legislation	13	18	6	1	2
Position in international affairs	5	11	5	2	3
Economic system	23	10	33	3	24
Characteristics of people	7	18	36	11	15
Spiritual virtues and religion	3	1	3	6	8
Contributions to the arts	1	6	11	16	9
Contributions to science	3	7	12	3	1
Physical attributes of country	5	10	17	25	22
Nothing or don't know	4	10	15	27	16
Other	9	11	3	21	14

1. What were Americans most proud of? What were citizens of the other four nations proud of?
2. What conclusions do the data suggest about the feelings of Americans for their political system?

TABLE 11C

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 70.

Questions: (1) "Suppose you had some question to take to a government office—for example, a tax question or housing regulation. Do you think you would be given equal treatment—I mean, would you be treated as well as anyone else?"

(2) "If you had some trouble with the police—a traffic violation maybe, or were accused of a minor offense—do you think you would be given equal treatment? That is, would you be treated as well as anyone else?"

Percentage who say	U.S.		U.K.		GERMANY	
	Bureaucracy	Police	Bureaucracy	Police	Bureaucracy	Police
They expect equal treatment	83	85	83	89	65	72
They don't expect equal treatment	9	8	7	6	9	5
Depends	4	5	6	4	19	15
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—
Don't know	4	2	2	0	7	8
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage who say	ITALY		MEXICO	
	Bureaucracy	Police	Bureaucracy	Police
They expect equal treatment	53	56	42	32
They don't expect equal treatment	13	10	50	57
Depends	17	15	5	5
Other	6	6	—	1
Don't know	11	13	3	5
Total percentage	100	100	100	100

1. How do the feelings of Americans as to how bureaucrats or the police will treat them compare to the feelings of people in the other nations studied?
2. What does your answer to question 1 mean for an analysis of the American political culture?

12 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

► Of what in America are you most proud? Of what are you least proud?

The people from the United States interviewed in the five-nation study had more knowledge about political affairs than the people from any of the other four nations studied. This conclusion suggests that the United States had fewer alienated or parochial people than the other countries had. Americans also had a favorable attitude toward their government. They were proud of its accomplishments. They said that they expected equal treatment from bureaucrats and police. These generalizations about the way Americans feel about their government support the conclusions shown in Table 10E: relatively few Americans were alienated or parochial.

“Political socialization” means the process by which people develop political attitudes and skills. These attitudes and skills may be learned either directly or indirectly. Many civics courses try to teach them directly. Students learn that a good citizen votes, works for his favorite candidates, and stays informed about politics. These activities are supposed to make him a political participant.

Children can also learn about politics indirectly. For example, they listen to what their parents say. Some parents believe that politicians are crooks who tax away hard-earned money for worthless projects. Their children are likely to pick up a negative attitude toward politics. However, some parents respect and praise political leaders and take an active part in politics. They help to socialize their children to roles as participants in the political system.

► What do you consider the value of voluntary organizations to a society?

Both children and adults can become socialized to politics in other indirect ways. The roles a person plays in voluntary organizations, his family, school, and job help to form attitudes and skills that can be transferred to politics. School may serve as an example. Teachers who encourage discussion and take students’ opinions seriously help these students to become participants in the classroom. Eventually the role of participants may transfer from school to politics. To find the origins of political attitudes and skills, those who study political socialization must look at the way people behave in nonpolitical roles, in organizations, at home, in school, and on the job.

*How well informed are you?
How comfortable do you feel
about talking politics? Imagine
yourself in each of the situations
pictured here. Do you think
you would be able to manage a
political discussion? Would you
be willing to respond if someone
else started to talk politics?
Would you try to open a
conversation about politics?*



Reading 12 contains six tables from the five-nation study. The first table shows how many voluntary organizations people in the five countries belonged to. Tables 12B–12D show what the people interviewed remembered about the roles they played in families, schools, and jobs. Tables 12E and 12F connect participation in family, school, and job to the ability of citizens to influence politicians. Study questions accompany each table.

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 264.

TABLE 12A

This table shows the percentage of people in each of the five nations who belonged to one, two, three, or four or more organizations.

Percentage who	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Belong to one organization	25	31	32	24	23
Belong to two organizations	14	10	9	5	2
Belong to three organizations	9	4	2	1	0
Belong to four or more organizations	9	2	1	0	0
Total percentage of multiple members	32	16	12	6	2
Total percentage of members	57	47	44	30	25

1. Do the data in this table indicate that the United States is a nation of “joiners”?
2. What effect might membership in several organizations have upon knowledge of and attitudes toward politics?

TABLE 12B

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 275.

Questions: "How much influence did you have in family decisions when you were about sixteen years old?"

Percentage who said they	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Had some influence	73	69	54	48	57
Had no influence	22	26	37	37	40
Don't know, don't remember, and other	5	5	9	15	3
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. In which society did the largest percentage of people remember having had influence in family decisions?
2. Suppose you feel you are able to influence family decisions. How might this attitude affect your feelings about participating in government?

TABLE 12C

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 281.

Question: "How much opportunity do you have to participate in decisions at your place of work?"

Percentage saying they are consulted	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Sometimes or often	78	80	68	59	61
Rarely or never	21	19	29	36	38
Don't know or other	1	1	3	5	1
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. In what country were people consulted most often about decisions made at work?
2. What differences in attitudes toward politics might develop if people were regularly consulted about job decisions rather than having these decisions made without consultation?

TABLE 12D

Questions: "Were children in your school given a chance to debate political and social issues? When given a chance, did you take part in these discussions?"

Percentage who said they	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Could and did participate	40	16	12	11	15
Could but did not participate	15	8	5	4	21
Could not participate	34	68	68	56	54
Don't know and other	11	8	15	29	10
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100

1. Which country had the highest percentage of people who remembered participating in school discussions?
2. What difference might freedom to discuss and debate in school make in attitudes of citizens?

TABLE 12E

This table relates participation in family decisions to belief in political competence. Political competence is the ability of citizens to influence political decision-makers. For example, labor union members are politically competent when they can get their representatives to vote for a law they favor.

The pollsters asked people in the five nations whether they thought they had political competence. They divided their sample into five groups which ranged from the one with the most belief in its political competence to the one which thought itself least competent. The table includes information only about the three groups who firmly believed in their competence.

The table divides respondents into three groups: those who remember participating regularly in family decisions, those who remember participating sometimes, and those who do not remember participating. The first part of the table gives data for

the entire group of respondents. The second and third parts give data for those who had no more than primary education, and those who had gone at least to secondary school. Therefore, the number 70 in the first column of the first part means that 70 percent of those interviewed in the United States who remember participating in family decisions think that they are politically competent.

Nation	Total			Primary or less		
	Participant	Mixed	Nonparticipant	Participant	Mixed	Nonparticipant
	%	%	%	%	%	%
United States	70	67	47	58	56	42
United Kingdom	70	63	51	67	59	45
Germany	52	50	42	46	45	42
Italy	46	41	34	35	37	31
Mexico	50	41	26	51	39	24

Nation	Secondary or more		
	Participant	Mixed	Nonparticipant
	%	%	%
United States	77	80	69
United Kingdom	73	70	76
Germany	66	75	45
Italy	59	50	52
Mexico	48	57	c°

c° too few cases

1. What relationship does the table reveal between people who remember participating in family decisions and their belief that they are effective in politics?
2. What role, then, does the family play in political socialization?

TABLE 12F

Table 12F compares the percentage of people who thought they had high political competence with their participation in school and jobs.

Nation	School Participants		School Nonparticipants	
	Job Participant (%)	Job Nonparticipant (%)	Job Participant (%)	Job Nonparticipant (%)
United States	83	67	63	56
United Kingdom	77	34	67	57
Germany	67	38	53	36
Italy	57	42	55	38
Mexico	57	52	38	51

1. Where does one find the larger proportion of people with political competence—among people who participated in discussions in school and at work, or among those who did not participate?
2. What role do the schools and work have in political socialization?

13 POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF TODAY'S YOUNG AMERICANS

Readings 10–12 analyzed the political cultures of five democracies. The five-nation survey on which these readings were based was conducted in 1959 and 1960. Pollsters asked the same questions of 1000 people in each country to find out how they felt about important issues.

Since 1960, attitudes in the United States have been changing. Some of these changes have affected the nation's political culture. Reading 13 analyzes the responses of one group of American men at four different times: Fall 1966, when they were entering the tenth grade; Spring 1968; Spring 1969; and Summer 1970. Polling the same people over a period of time enables pollsters to measure changes of opinion.

This survey team did not attempt to analyze political culture. Some of the questions dealt with the Vietnam war or the population explosion. Other questions, however, were similar to those of the five-nation survey, and they provide a useful commentary on the political culture of young Americans today.

In preparation for your next class, your teacher may ask you to gather additional information about changes in the political culture of the United States. Many newspapers subscribe to the services of public opinion polls or publish the results of current opinion surveys, and your teacher may want you to report on some of these.

As you study this last reading in Chapter 3, think about the following questions:

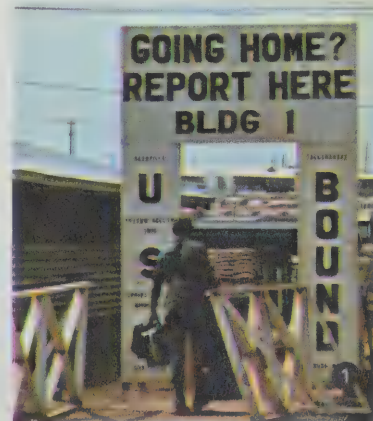
1. According to the young people interviewed, what are the most important problems facing the United States?
2. How much knowledge of contemporary politics do young people have? What are their feelings about the government? Do their attitudes differ much from their parents?

Youth Look at National Problems

Young people in mid-1970 rated Vietnam as the number-one problem facing the United States. When asked what to do about our involvement in Vietnam, a majority favored plans that would have removed all U.S. troops by the end of 1971. A series of questions asked first in 1969 and repeated in 1970 revealed that dissent over Vietnam policies had increased during the year; the increase occurred primarily among those who spent that year in higher education. This increase in dissent was not limited to young people, however. Gallup poll data reveal that adults during the same period became increasingly frustrated with the war and eager to get out.

A related problem can be labeled "national unity" or the "morale of the nation." Data collected on four different occasions from 1966 to 1970 reveal a gradual increase in mistrust and cynicism about government. Surveys of adults in 1964 and 1970 reveal a parallel increase in mistrust; moreover, the overall level of mistrust and alienation seems higher among adults.

Jerald G. Bachman and Elizabeth Van Duinen, *Youth Look At National Problems* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1971), pp. 89-96.



► What should the U.S. do about military obligations to its allies all over the world?



► To what degree can you trust your government?

During roughly the same period, 1965 to 1969, a large shift in support for the eighteen-year-old vote occurred among young people. Among male high school seniors, the level of support increased from 50 percent in 1965 to 80 percent in 1969 (and remained at the same level in 1970). Support for the eighteen-year-old vote was highest among those who strongly disagreed with U.S. policy in Vietnam. Young people, far from dropping out of the political process, apparently are eager for a larger role in it.

Frequently mentioned as a national problem was race relations . . . Young men see this as a major national problem, but they do not feel that further government action is the solution. The most prominent suggestions involved individual good will. An examination of racial attitudes showed differences related to educational aspirations [hopes] and attainments. Among whites, high school dropouts were least willing to admit the existence of widespread racial discrimination, and most likely to exhibit discriminatory attitudes themselves. Those who entered college were most aware of racial injustice, most supportive [in favor] of government action to reverse such injustices, and least likely to display discriminatory attitudes themselves. Changes in racial attitudes occurred during the first year of college, but some of the differences summarized above were apparent before high school graduation—those planning to go to college tend to have slightly more liberal views on race relations.

When asked about crime and violence, many young men . . . seemed to favor firmer action by police and courts. Some recommended increased numbers of policemen, improvement in their training, and improved equipment. Some addressed themselves to the root causes of crime and violence; they suggested changes in education, more job training, more jobs, better housing, and the like.

► To what degree can government action solve problems of race relations?



► What can adding more police do to solve the crime problem?



Pollution was rated as extremely or very important by 79 percent of the respondents in our study. The solutions they proposed . . . mentioned stronger penalties and stricter enforcement of laws. As in the case of crime and violence, nearly half of the sample urged more government action in combating pollution.

The young men in our study seemed a bit less aware of the problem posed by population growth . . . Nevertheless, 64 percent rated the problem extremely or very important when they were asked about it . . . About one in ten suggested government action to legislate limits on family size or apply higher taxes to large families, etc. . . . Nearly two-thirds agreed or mostly agreed with the statement, "I feel strongly enough about preventing overpopulation that I'd be willing to limit my family to two children."

When asked about the problem of hunger and poverty, many . . . favored direct aid to the poor in the form of surplus food, revised welfare systems, improved education, and help in finding jobs. Fifteen percent specifically called for changes in national priorities, citing Vietnam, the military, and space exploration as areas that should be de-emphasized in order to spend more on domestic problems.

When asked to rate the importance of the "chance of nuclear war," only 35 percent rated it extremely or very important . . .



► What laws, if any, would you recommend to solve this pollution problem?

In 100 Years There'll Be 30 Billion of Us



► What are you willing to do about this problem?

Photo: George Reuch



► If we stopped space exploration, what would you like to do with the money we would save?

► How safe are you?



Many young men seemed to feel that a nuclear stalemate has been reached and that "no one is stupid enough to kill everyone." . . . This relatively low concern about nuclear war contrasts sharply with the strong concerns and growing opposition focused on events in Southeast Asia; Vietnam is a clear and present danger, especially for young men, whereas the danger of a nuclear holocaust is apparently more abstract and remote.

Conclusions

Are young people ready to drop out of "the system"—or try to overthrow it? We can answer with a phrase borrowed from the recent *Life* (1971) poll of youth: "Change, yes. Revolution, no." Young people are dissatisfied with government in a number of ways, and their dissatisfaction has been growing in recent years. But we do not take this to be evidence for a generation gap, since adults are also increasingly dissatisfied with government . . . Perhaps the greater differences between youth and adults lie in the willingness (of young people) to engage in activist demonstrations of their dissatisfactions, thus providing the illusion of a larger gap between the generations than in fact exists.

One bit of evidence indicating that most young people feel they should work within the present political structure is the increased support for the eighteen-year-old vote that occurred between 1965 and 1969. A change from 50 percent to 80 percent support among high school seniors in just four years represents a dramatic shift indeed . . .

Given the events of the late 1960's—the increased involvement in Vietnam and the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King—it is scarcely surprising to find young people increasingly dissatisfied and concerned with national unity . . . Today's young people . . . share with their elders an increasing impatience with government, but they have not dropped out. They want to have a part in shaping the nation's future—indeed, they may feel an increasingly desperate need to do so.

Now that recent legislation and court decisions have given the vote to those eighteen and older, youth have a new opportunity for involvement in national issues and problems.

Are young people very different from adults in their political views? They seem not to be, at least in terms of their political party affiliation or their stand on the central political issue of the Vietnam war. Their attitudes on Vietnam are a bit more "dovish" than those of adults, but . . . both young people and

President John F. Kennedy was murdered on November 22, 1963 in Dallas, Texas. His brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, was shot in Los Angeles on June 5, 1968 and died the next day. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee on April 4, 1968.

The Twenty-Sixth Amendment, which gives the vote in national elections to eighteen-year-olds, was ratified in July 1971.

Who are the two senators from your state? your local member of the House of Representatives? the state legislature? What parties do they belong to?

adults are growing increasingly eager for disengagement in Southeast Asia, suggesting that in this area the view of youth today may be the position of adults tomorrow.

The political party preferences of young people are also not very different from those of adults, except that a larger proportion of young people are undecided or independent. Roughly 30 percent express a preference for the Democratic party, while 20 percent prefer the Republican party.

How well prepared are young people to deal with major national problems? The answer to this question is mixed. On one hand, some of the interview responses . . . clearly reflect articulate and well informed opinions about national problems. But on the other hand, . . . a number of young men did not have opinions on important national issues, and obviously had not given them any serious thought.

It is discouraging to note that only about half of the high school seniors in 1969 could name one of their United States senators, and only one-third could name both. This sort of finding suggests that much work remains to be done in educating young people for the responsibilities of citizenship.

Perhaps . . . the eighteen-year-old vote will provide an opportunity and an incentive for high schools to educate young people about national problems and their own responsibilities for dealing with them.

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 3

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 3A: Survey of student club membership and political involvement (individual or group)

Reading 2 in the **Book of Readings** explores the relationship between a person's membership in voluntary groups and the likelihood of his taking an active role in the political system. After you have read this article, test its conclusions in your own school by making a survey of the student body.

Activity 3B: Scrapbook illustrating American political culture (individual or group)

Compile a scrapbook illustrating examples of American political culture. This scrapbook may contain pictures, cartoons, news articles, or your own drawings—all of which should have captions and should follow a clear pattern.

Political Culture in the Soviet Union

STATING THE ISSUE

Scholars have been able to study the political cultures of western democracies. For example, Chapter 3 of this course uses the data that two political scientists collected about five democracies, as well as some recent polls of American political attitudes. We have no similar data about the Soviet Union, however, since its government will not permit western scholars to carry on such research. For this reason, we know less about the political culture of the Soviet Union than we know about that of many other nations. Still, western scholars have learned a great deal about the society and government of the Soviet Union. Several major western universities have research centers devoted to the study of Russian history, economics, literature, and politics. The men and women from these universities travel and study in the Soviet Union and talk with others who have lived and worked there. They use the information they gather to describe and analyze Soviet society.

The political culture of the Soviet Union is very different from that of the United States. The two nations have different traditions and histories. Their political systems have different ideologies. Their governments operate through different kinds of political institutions that carry out their specific objectives and goals. Chapter 4 describes and analyzes the political culture of the Soviet Union. It begins with a brief account of Russian history under the tsars, the Russian rulers before the Revolution of 1917. Then it describes the process of political socialization in the Soviet Union. The chapter ends with an analysis of Soviet political culture. As you study this chapter, you should learn how the Soviet political culture came to be the way it is, and how it resembles and differs from that of the United States.

CHAPTER 4



14 THE TSARIST HERITAGE

The Soviet Union covers 8,600,000 square miles. The map on this page shows the location of the Soviet Union and compares its land mass with that of the United States. The Soviet Union is three times as large as the continental United States, but it has no more land suitable for agriculture. Nothing grows in the arctic tundra or in the most arid regions of the south. The growing season in a huge portion of Siberia and much of north-eastern European Russia is too short to make farming possible. Most farming takes place on the strip of land between the frozen north and the southern deserts. Even here, drought constantly threatens the crops. However, the Soviet Union has large supplies of such natural resources as coal, iron ore, oil, and water, on which modern industry depends.

The tundra, about 10 percent of Russia's land area, is a treeless plains region bordering on the Arctic Ocean. It is useless for agriculture because the ground beneath the surface is permanently frozen.

People of many nationalities, languages, races, and cultures live in the Soviet Union. Most Soviet citizens are Caucasian, but many of the nation's Asiatic people have Mongoloid ancestors. In tsarist days, the majority of people in Russia belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church, but many Roman Catholics, Jews, and Moslems also lived there.

Although Russia never formed a single political culture under the tsars, most Russians shared some beliefs, attitudes, values, and goals. The reading which follows describes those characteristics and analyzes the society in which they originated. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. What were the important characteristics of the Russian economic, social, and political setting under the tsars?
2. What were the major beliefs, attitudes, values, and goals of the peasants? the intellectuals?

Russia Under the Tsars

During the early Middle Ages, western European merchants traveled to Russia. They traded for Russian produce, game and furs, timber, metalware, and pottery, as the map on page 72 shows. Then, in the thirteenth century, the Tartars conquered Russia, cutting it off from Europe. For a long period of time, Russia remained a land divided into many small states whose princes made war upon one another and who paid tribute to the Tartars. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the Prince of Moscow had united many of these small states under his rule and had freed Russia from Tartar control.

In the sixteenth century, Russia established diplomatic relations with Europe. Although the country was basically European, visitors noted that it had many unusual characteristics. For example, the power of the Russian ruler was greater than that of any other monarch in western or eastern Europe. European kings were limited in what they could do by law and custom, the power of the clergy, and by parliaments and judicial institutions. But the Russian system seemed modeled after the Tartar system of absolute political power. Except for a strong, independent church, the authority of the Russian tsar was unlimited.

Tsar Peter the Great transformed Russia into a modern empire. He reorganized and strengthened the central government.

The Russian Orthodox Church was the official state church before the Communists rose to power.

Tartars were Mongols and Turks who overran eastern Europe in the thirteenth century and ruled Russia until 1486. Russians called them the Golden Horde. Tartars owed allegiance to the Great Khan in Mongolia.

Peter I, called Peter the Great, ruled from 1682 to 1725.



The civil service is the group of people employed by a government to administer the laws and provide services. It does not include the military or elected officials.

He started a European-style civil service and reduced church influence in political affairs. He also brought in European scientists, builders, and artists to teach Russians the knowledge and culture of the West.

Peter built an army and navy and carried on constant wars for new territory. To meet the needs of the army, he rapidly expanded Russia's mining and lumbering. He built weapons factories and many shipyards.

The peasants paid for most of these changes. They had to serve in the army. They were drafted to work in the mines and factories. The peasant on the farm paid more and more taxes.



A Russian village in the 19th Century. How might life in such a village influence a nation's political culture? What kinds of buildings that you would expect to see in villages today are missing in these pictures?



In Russia, a serf was virtually a slave. He could not leave the estate on which he worked and was completely subject to the will of the landowner.

A bureaucrat is an appointed government official in charge of a department or administrative office.

► To what degree should children depend on their parents to solve their problems for them?

Ivan III, called Ivan the Great, ruled from 1462 to 1505.

As his debts grew, he was forced to sell land to pay them. More and more peasants were “attached” to the estate of a noble and became full-fledged serfs. Both the peasants on the estates and the workers in industry were forbidden to change their jobs.

After Peter, Russia grew to be one of the largest and most powerful empires of the time. But wealth, land, and power belonged to a small privileged class. As late as 1914, nine-tenths of Russia’s people were peasants who tilled the soil. They were no longer serfs, for Tsar Alexander II had freed all serfs in 1861. Most “freed” serfs, however, had no money to buy land and no other way to earn a living; in fact, they remained bound to their estates.

Russian peasants could not read or write. They rarely traveled. Thus, they knew almost nothing of the world beyond the borders of their villages. They had strong ties to the family, the village, and the church. Most peasants believed that farming was the only worthy occupation. They distrusted city people. They were particularly suspicious of intellectuals who did not work with their hands. The pictures of a Russian village that you see on page 73 show some of the conditions under which Russian peasants lived.

Peasants had no interest in politics. Nobles ran the estates. Impersonal bureaucrats controlled local governments. Except for the election of the commune elders, peasants did not vote or go to council meetings. For most of them, citizenship meant serving in the army, obeying laws, doing certain tasks, and paying taxes. They were subjects rather than participants. Sometimes they revolted in bloody outbreaks against authority, but they never consciously set out to change the system. Reforming institutions for long-range goals was not part of their culture. They always had faith that the tsar would solve their problems if only he knew what was wrong.

The first ruler to use the title “tsar” was Ivan III. Like other Russian rulers, he governed in an authoritarian way. The tsarist government rested upon four policies. The first, absolutism, meant that all political power rested with the tsar and his officials. The second, terrorism, was the use of secret police and the military to put down opposition and enforce rules. The third, feudalism, implied a way of recruiting powerful supporters by giving them land and serfs in return for loyal service. The fourth, militarism, involved a drafted army which spread the boundaries of Russia and made her a power in both Europe and Asia.

During the nineteenth century a rich intellectual life flowered in Russia. Great writers, composers, and scientists won world-

wide recognition. For the most part the intelligentsia was of noble birth. But in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a new class of intellectuals developed. Many of these men were the children of merchants and manufacturers. Some of them read the works of western writers and admired western political institutions. They began to demand parliamentary government, an end to autocracy, and a new respect for individual rights. The tsars opposed these demands. Large numbers of intellectuals then became members of revolutionary or reform groups. Some became anarchists who wanted to abolish all government. Some joined socialist groups to demand public ownership of the means of production. Moderates sought a constitution and an elected parliament.

Tsar Alexander II granted several reforms. He set up elective city councils and encouraged local self government. He established courts of law. However, the power of the tsar remained almost unchanged. When an assassin killed Alexander, his successors canceled many of his reform measures.

The discontent of the masses and the political demands of intellectuals led to the Revolution of 1905. As a result, Russia got a constitution and a legislature called a Duma. The old autocracy showed signs of weakening. It finally collapsed with the Revolution of 1917, which broke out during World War I. The masses fought the revolution for land and peace. The intelligentsia fought for an end to tsardom. Many of them supported some kind of socialism. Many Russian socialists believed in the ideas of Karl Marx. According to Marx, society was divided into two warring classes—the bourgeoisie who owned factories, tools, and the land, and the proletariat, or workers. Eventually, Marx said, the proletariat in advanced industrial countries would overthrow the bourgeoisie, seize control of industry, and take over the government. They would organize a new socialist society. Finally, classes would disappear and everyone would work for the benefit of all. Marx called this final stage of development Communism.

Marx did not expect a workers' revolution to take place in Russia. It was not an advanced industrial country. Factories were still new and there were only a few factory workers, who were largely illiterate and inactive in politics. Nevertheless, Russian intellectuals adopted Marx's theories and began working for social change.

Various groups of intellectuals had different ideas about how to bring about change. The Bolsheviks preached violent overthrow of the government. Their leader, V.I. Lenin, said that his small, disciplined group of revolutionaries must seize power.

In an autocracy, one man has unlimited power.

The means of production refers to capital goods such as factories or tools.

Alexander II ruled from 1855 to 1881.

In 1905, liberals and socialists organized a national strike. The tsar was forced to grant some civil liberties. He also guaranteed the right of the legislature to approve all laws.

Karl Marx, a German, lived from 1818 to 1883. An important early work, the **Communist Manifesto**, appeared in 1848. He wrote it with the help of Friedrich Engels.

The Russian Social Democratic Party split into factions. Lenin led the Bolshevik party, whose name meant "majority."

They would industrialize Russia, educate the peasants, and turn the state into a powerful socialist nation. Then they would prepare a world-wide revolution. Capitalism would die out. Communism would bring about equality of workers, peace, and prosperity.

This brief history reveals several important generalizations about the political culture of tsarist Russia. First, many different national groups, languages, religions, races, and cultures lived in the Russian Empire. Second, the Russian government was authoritarian. The tsars had enormous power. Third, the majority of the people were peasants. They were unschooled, took no part in politics, and knew little of the world. Finally, some intellectuals believed that only by a violent revolution could they lead the masses toward their version of a better life. This was the society over which the Bolsheviks won control in the Revolution of 1917.

► To what degree—if at all—can you justify violence to overthrow a government which violates basic rights?

FOR THOUGHT:

Suppose you had won power in Russia and wanted to make basic reforms. Would you have held a national referendum to find out what people wanted? Why or why not?

15 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

World War I broke out in August 1914. Russia sided with Britain and France against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Russian army, poorly equipped and poorly led, suffered huge losses—4,360,000 killed and wounded by the end of 1915. The Russian people—intellectuals, workers, peasants, soldiers, and some of the nobility—demanded reforms. When these did not come, revolt broke out.

In March 1917, soldiers, workers, and intellectuals in Petrograd, the Russian capital at the time, seized power. They forced Tsar Nicholas II to abdicate, and they set up a Provisional Government. This government continued the war and refused to give the land to the peasants. Losses at the front continued.

Nicholas II ruled from 1894 to 1917.

Conditions at home worsened and demands for a change of government increased.

A second revolution, led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, broke out in November. Although most of its leaders were intellectuals, the Bolshevik party won the support of soldiers, workers, and peasants. Promises of peace, land, and bread attracted many people to bolshevism. Pledges to distribute political power among councils of soldiers, workers, and peasants attracted others.

In order to win control and to have time to make changes, the Bolsheviks made peace with the Germans early in 1918. They gave up land on their western borders and made other concessions. In the meantime, civil war had erupted. Several groups struggled for power—followers of the deposed Tsar, moderate socialists, and the Bolsheviks.

The Bolsheviks eventually won, but Lenin and his followers inherited a land in chaos. The war had taken millions of lives; it had destroyed farms and factories. Peasants, workers, and Bolshevik intellectuals had turned on the nobles, merchants, and manufacturers. They killed them, drove them from the nation, or forced them to join the Bolshevik cause. The production of manufactured goods and farm products fell rapidly. The revolution itself seemed to be in danger.

For a time, Lenin and his followers compromised with the past. Beginning in 1921, they allowed some private ownership of industry and farms, and some private trade. The economy recovered. Beginning in 1928, however, Lenin's successor, Josef Stalin, began a series of five-year plans to bring industry under state ownership and force peasants onto collective farms. Those who opposed these developments were killed, forced into slave labor camps, or exiled.

From the beginning, the Soviet government worked to socialize its young people to their new political and economic roles. Most of the youth were illiterate peasants who knew nothing about Communism or modern industry and agriculture. As rapidly as possible, the Communists required all children to go to school. Today all Soviet children must attend elementary school. At the end of this period, they take competitive examinations for entrance into secondary schools. Then they must pass more exams for entrance into college. At all these educational levels, students take courses in the history and government of the Soviet Union. These courses stress the teachings of Marx and Lenin. They denounce the institutions of western democracies, such as capitalism and individualism. Newspapers, books, magazines, radio and television stress the same ideas.

Alexander Kerensky led the Provisional Government. He envisioned a constitution, a legislature, and a liberal, democratic system. But the refusal to end the war or distribute land doomed his government.

Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd in October 1917. They transferred the government to Moscow in 1918 and changed their name to Communists. Civil War broke out in 1918, and for two years the Red Army fought anticommunist Russian troops, Germans, Allied troops, and various nationalist armies. The Communists won.

The Soviet government built slave labor camps, also known as forced labor camps, in northern European Russia and northern Siberia. Millions of people were sent to these camps to work at such tasks as cutting timber, building railroads, and mining gold and coal. Since Stalin's death, forced labor is much less frequent in the Soviet Union.

Another name for the
Komsomol is the Young
Communist League.

Almost all young people belong to youth groups, which plan leisure activities and teach Communist ideals. In 1968, some 15 million children under ten years of age belonged to the Little Octobrists. Young Pioneers, aged ten to fourteen, numbered 23 million. Komsomol, the group for those from the ages of fourteen to twenty-eight, claimed 23 million members in 1967. These groups hike, swim, and take field trips together. They read and discuss teachings of Marx and Lenin. They publish more than 130 newspapers for young people, which report the groups' activities. Articles, editorials, and letters included in these newspapers discuss young people's problems and instruct them in the proper behavior and duties of a Soviet citizen.

The article which follows explains some objectives of Soviet education. As you read, think about these questions:

1. What is the major objective of Soviet education according to this article?
2. Why does the author stress volunteer work as well as hard study in school?

N. I. Boldyrev in *Soviet Education*, Jan. 1963, pp. 42-49. Reprinted in **The Soviet System in Theory & Practice**, Harry G. Shaffer (ed.), (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1965), pp. 289-294. Excerpted and adapted.

To Help Create the New Soviet Man: One of the Primary Tasks of the Soviet School

We must organize children's activities to give them proper moral training. They will understand and come to believe the high moral principles of our society by working for the common good. . . . Lenin urged young people to ". . . devote their labor and energy to the common cause. This is Communist upbringing. Only in such work does a young man or woman become a real Communist. They become Communists only if they are able to achieve practical success as a result of hard work."

When school children work actively in collective projects, their ethical theories become genuine personal beliefs. This principle has been shown to work in the Soviet Union. It has shaped the rising generation of Soviet youth, as well as the young people of other socialist countries.

In addition to socially useful labor, schoolwork, clubs, games, physical training, sports, and artistic work help to train children

to our moral code. Organizing student's activities and requiring them to take part in useful labor makes it possible to close any gap which may have developed between what they believe and how they behave, that is, between their words and their deeds.

Our schools prefer collective activities, instead of individual ones, for our students. Working in a group helps to develop broad social interests. Children devote their energies and abilities to a common cause. As a result, they become richer spiritually and develop high moral qualities.

The schools must abolish authoritarian ways. They must get rid of administration carried on by orders from above and eliminate unnecessary supervision of pupils. Organizations of students should be given responsibility for keeping discipline and order in school. The system by which older students have duties to do in the school has worked well. Pupils have a greater feeling of responsibility for the school when they help to keep order between classes, keep the school ground clean, and help teachers to organize learning in classes.

It is time to give students' organizations greater rights and more independence to draw up and develop plans for socially useful work. They should also develop cultural activities and

► Should American students be required to keep their school grounds clean and free of litter as a part of their citizenship training?



Legally all land in the Soviet Union is owned by the state. On a collective farm, all the families living there work the land together. Most of the produce is turned over to the state, but some of it is turned back to the collective for sale in the marketplace. In addition, each household receives a small plot which it can use as it pleases. The average collective farm has about 40,000 acres and 400 households.

sports and discuss discipline problems which involve individual students either in school or in public places outside of school. Such activity will help students to get useful experience at school, as well as learn the knowledge and habits necessary to take part in government.

Abstract talk about moral values has no place in the schools. There are always people in a nearby factory or collective farm whose deeds and behavior demonstrate the lofty qualities of Communist morality. Newspapers and the radio carry daily reports about the courage, honesty, and modesty of the Soviet people. Thoughtful teachers will always find an opportunity to tell students about these examples in a clear and interesting way in order to arouse their desire to imitate what is best and most progressive in our life. Many schools organize meetings at which pupils meet the best workers from factories and from state and collective farms. Schools also put up displays on such themes as "Men and Labor" or "Be Like Them" . . .

The public helps to set up after-school classes and groups. Many schools now give students free meals paid for by collective farms and public organizations. Work camps for Young Pioneer and Komsomol groups are now being organized.

In all these ways, the public is having more and more influence on the way in which young people are raised. Engels' remark that with the triumph of socialism ". . . the care and raising of children will become a public affair; society will concern itself with all children," is coming true.

The general environment is also shaping the moral makeup of the coming generation. The socialist way of life as a whole is helping to educate a man with new ethics. Communist work teams give new examples of proper behavior at work, in the home, and in daily life and in this way, educate the public. Komsomol and Young Pioneer groups in school provide close contact with Communist work teams and should be supported. Pupils in upper grades can prepare themselves for work in Communist work teams doing voluntary labor for the good of society.

As we advance toward Communism, society will place greater demands on its members. People will inherit moral purity. They will observe voluntarily the rules of living in a Communist society. That is why everyone must try to have Communist moral principles become a guide to action to all the working people of the society. Therefore, the moral upbringing in school should include all pupils at all stages of their development.

Raising the new generation by the moral code of the builder of Communism is one of the main tasks of the Soviet school. The lofty and humane principles of this moral code must become unbreakable rules for each child. These rules must govern the way he behaves.

► Does a school system have the right to try to shape each child's moral code, or should this task be left to the family and the church? Why?

FOR THOUGHT:

Do you think that the schools can change the characters of young people through the techniques described in this article?

16 POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

Reading 9 described three main types of political cultures—parochial, subject, and participant. Short definitions of these three terms can be found on page 44. The reading also pointed out several characteristics of political culture which are important for an analysis of the Soviet Union. First, some individuals have some parochial, some subject, and some participatory attitudes. Second, societies often have some people who are mainly parochials, others who are mainly subjects, and others who are mainly participants.

The Soviet Union has a predominantly subject political culture. About 200,000 to 300,000 people play a significant part in political decision-making. Within this small number, the leaders of the Communist Party make the important political decisions. The great majority of Soviet citizens has no significant influence over laws, policies, and the operation of government.

Yet almost all Soviet citizens seem to participate in politics. For example, statistics show that more than 99 percent of eligible voters cast ballots at elections. In 1971, 14.5 million people belonged to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Party members organize meetings where citizens discuss local problems and political affairs. The media—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and television—urge people to take an active part in politics. Soviet citizens are subjects, but they are participatory subjects. They play a minor role in politics but have no voice in important political decisions.

Four groups have roles in the political culture of the Soviet Union. They are the peasants who live on collective farms and state farms, the workers involved in manufacturing and trade, the intellectuals who are the engineers, scientists, writers, and thinkers of the society, and the political elite of the Communist Party who run the Soviet government. Each of these groups has a different political culture.

In 1970, 44 percent of the Soviet people lived in rural areas and 56 percent in urban areas. Recent figures show that about 31 percent of Soviet workers are farmers; 39 percent are workers in industry, construction, transportation, and communication; almost 15 percent work in service industries such as education, science, and health; and about 6 percent are in trade. In 1970, more than 7.5 million people had graduated from institutions of higher education and almost 33 million had completed secondary school. There is no urban-rural breakdown on these figures; but in the 1950's, 25 percent of secondary school graduates and 16 percent of college graduates lived in rural areas.

In the Soviet Union, rural and urban dwellers have less in common than do similar groups in the United States. Peasants tend to be more parochial and subject-minded than any other group in Soviet society. The peasants still distrust cities, and they still scorn people who do not work with their hands. A discussion of political culture in the Soviet Union must take into account the attitudes of different groups in Soviet society. Peasants have always had strong ties to family, village, church, and nationality or language groups. They have had no experience with political participation. To them, citizenship under the tsars or under Soviet rule meant a set of duties. A good citizen obeyed. When government asked him to do something he did not like, he did it anyway or tried to find a way to avoid it. He did not, however, try to change the political system or force his rulers to change it.

Today most Soviet peasants are not parochial. They have considerable knowledge of their country and their government. More than 99 percent of the Soviet population is literate—a remarkable achievement for a society which was three-quarters illiterate before 1917. About 7300 newspapers, with a combined circulation of more than 125 million, carry reports of government affairs and political leaders. Books and magazines are inexpensive and widely read. The people know the names of government officials. They take pride in their nation's achievements. They know which policies of the government they like and which they disapprove of. But their ties to family, religion, and nationality-

► How might strong ties to family, community, ethnic group, or church help to make life rich and more meaningful?

language groups, their resistance to life on collective farms, and their dislike of city ways all help to keep some parochial qualities alive among them.

The working class has fewer parochial ways than the peasants. Many industrial workers are only a generation or two away from peasant life. But having moved to the city, they do not grow up with as strong ties to family, village, church, and nationality-language groups. Factories and labor unions have Communist Party members who educate workers in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Workers generally have a greater amount of formal education than peasants. Radios, television sets, and newspapers reach more workers than peasants. On the whole, workers have more information than peasants about the country and government.

Few parochial traits can be found among the intelligentsia—the experts and managers in politics, industry, communications, education, science, and the arts. Most members are a generation or two removed from the farm. Almost all of them have college educations. Many belong to the Communist Party. They know much about their nation and its government and support it. But most members of the intelligentsia have no influence on important political decisions.

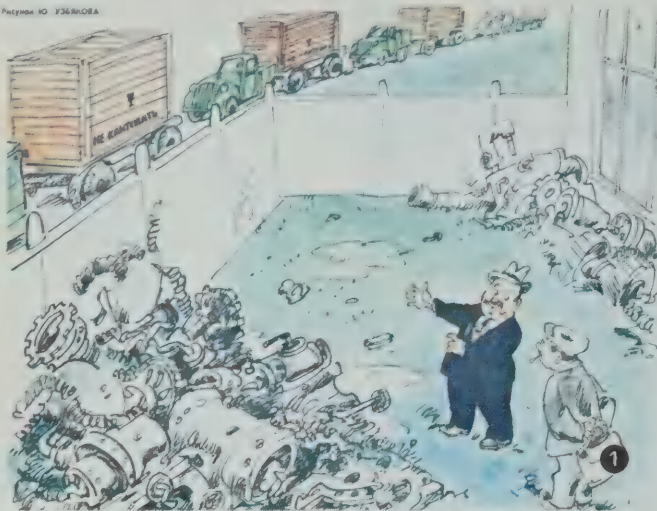
No parochial traits can be found among a special group of the intelligentsia, the political elite, who run the Communist Party and control the government. Only the political elite are true participants in Soviet politics.

Only one political party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.), is allowed to exist. Reading 21 explains the theory behind this policy. The Party has 14.5 million members, but only a fraction of these people participates in decision-making. The political elite have enormous power. They can declare war. They can decide to produce more consumer goods rather than build more steel mills. They can control the lives of Soviet citizens by deciding what they will read in newspapers or hear on the radio.

All other Soviet citizens live in a subject political culture. The ordinary citizen only ratifies and carries out the decisions the elite have made. He is a participatory subject. He obeys the laws, which makes him a subject. And he supports decisions which makes him a participant of sorts.

The history of tsarist Russia and of the Soviet Union help to explain this political culture. A political elite always made decisions in Russia. The tsars did not consult citizens, even during the few years when Russia had elected legislative bodies. Rus-

► To what degree can a society justify such a concentration of power, no matter what the goals of the government and its record of achievement may be?



"Here is an empty space for new techniques."



Repairing while on the move, without interruption of field work

What do these cartoons mean to you? In what way, if any, are they a criticism of the kinds of decisions which the elite make in the Soviet Union?



"In the first quarter we received only radiators; in the second we received doors; in the third we received bathtubs."



"Hasn't your store received some woolen sweaters?" "Yes, we received a few."

sians were accustomed to playing their political roles as subjects and parochials.

When the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, they wanted to change Russian society. They set up one political party and required citizens to support the leaders' decisions. The Party set out to modernize the Soviet economy. Nations that were hostile to Communism surrounded the Soviet Union. Hence, the government built a huge army and united citizens against the danger of attack from other countries. Moreover, the Soviet Union made remarkable progress in a short time. The government built schools and homes, trained teachers and workers, wiped out illiteracy, and created a powerful industrial nation. It extended its boundaries and influence to become a world power. In the Soviet Union, that power rests in the hands of a few people who make political decisions and enforce laws for the mass of Soviet citizens.

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 4

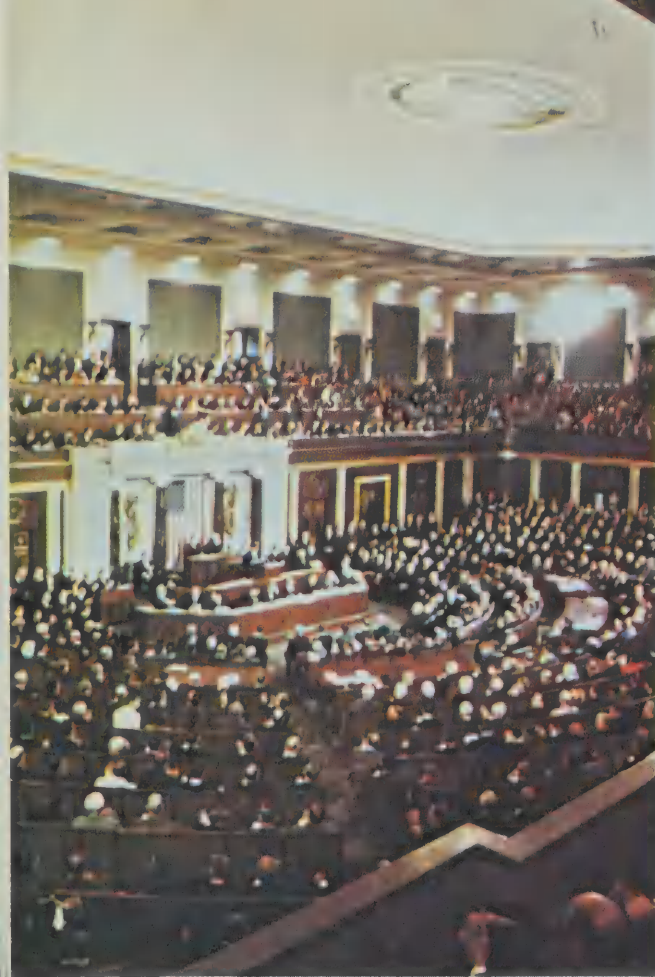
For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 4A: Comparison of American and Soviet political culture (individual or group)

Listen to a recorded interview with Professor John M. Thompson, an expert on Soviet political culture. Then develop a chart that compares and contrasts the political cultures of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Activity 4B: Comparison of political socialization in the Soviet Union and the United States (individual or group)

Reading 3 in the **Book of Readings** describes the activities of two Soviet youth groups. Read this selection; then investigate an American youth group. Prepare an oral presentation for the class comparing socialization through youth group membership in these two countries.



UNIT 3

Political Institutions

Political Institutions in the United States

STATING THE ISSUE

In the past, many courses in political science or civics stressed the study of political institutions. Students learned detailed information about each of the three branches of government. They memorized the offices in the Cabinet and the names of the men and women who filled them. They traced the steps by which a bill becomes a law in Congress. And they learned about the federal courts, sometimes memorizing the names of Supreme Court justices.

Asking students to learn facts about political institutions implies many things. It suggests, for example, that institutions play the key role in a political system. If this idea were true, any country could become democratic by setting up political institutions like those in democratic countries. But attempts to export political institutions to societies without a political culture to support them usually have failed.

Of course, no one can understand how a government operates without knowing about its institutions. They influence the decision-making process in a number of ways. For example, the President of the United States must know how to persuade Congress if he wishes to get a new law passed. The Presidency and the Congress are two separate institutions. Presidential decision-making takes place within this institutional setting.

Reading 14 showed that the political culture of the Soviet Union grew from the political culture of Russia under the tsars. In a similar way, American political institutions developed from institutions that grew up in Europe and the American colonies. Chapter 5 will describe colonial political institutions and the ideas behind them. It will then examine a few of the institutions established by the Constitution.

CHAPTER

5

17 THE COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

In 1787, delegates from each of the American states met in Philadelphia. They had come together to discuss the problems facing the new nation and to amend the existing plan of government, the Articles of Confederation. Like the Stoerpenberg prisoners, these men came from many different backgrounds. Some were aristocratic southern planters; others were New England tradesmen. All of them, however, shared common political experiences.

This background was rooted in a political culture developed over centuries and extending beyond the borders of the American continent. It included such acts as the signing of the Magna Carta, an agreement limiting the power of the English kings over their feudal lords in the thirteenth century. It also included the writings of such political philosophers as the seventeenth-century Englishman, John Locke. Locke was widely read in both England and the colonies. He believed that men were born free and were entitled by nature to life, liberty, and property. In 1690, he published two books in which he explained his ideas about government. According to Locke, free men voluntarily united in a "social contract" that gave government the powers it needed to protect each man's life, liberty, and property. Government existed lawfully only where men willingly established it to preserve order in their society.

John Locke (1632-1704)
justified revolution against
governments that violated
such basic rights.

In addition to sharing knowledge about the writings of men like Locke, most members of the Constitutional Convention shared common experiences in colonial, county, or town governments. These experiences were also a part of the background they brought with them to Philadelphia. There they faced the task of writing a document that would express the goals of the American people, compromise the differences of opinion among Americans, win acceptance among the leaders of each colony, and create a national government powerful enough to control the newly united states.

More than ten years before the Constitutional Convention, during the Revolutionary War, the states had attempted to solve their joint problems by forming a confederation, or loose union.

The plan of government they had adopted, the Articles of Confederation, gave the national government little power. For example, the Articles gave the national government the right to levy taxes, but it did not give the Confederation the power to collect those taxes directly from citizens. That power remained with each state. The Confederation could declare war against a foreign enemy, but the power to raise and equip an army remained with the states. The states kept much power in their own hands because they feared that a strong central government would lead to tyranny. But their plan also prevented the development of an effective national government that shared authority with the individual states.

The following article describes the colonial background of the American Constitution. As you read it, keep these questions in mind:

1. What major ideas about government developed in the American colonies?
2. How did these ideas influence the kinds of political institutions set up by the Constitution?

Government in the American Colonies

Each of the thirteen American colonies grew up more or less independently of the others. They were founded by different men during a period lasting more than a century. The first colony, Virginia, was established in 1607 and the last, Georgia, in 1732. Each began under its own charter which the king granted to a trading company, such as the Massachusetts Bay Company, or to a lord proprietor, such as William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. The charters and the later agreements with settlers established independent governments in each colony. Moreover, the backgrounds and ideas of settlers differed from one colony to another. Yet beneath all the differences, the governments and the people of the thirteen colonies had much in common.

A proprietor was a man with a grant of land from the king. He had full powers of government. He could pass laws, raise taxes, and grant land to settlers on any terms he chose.

Almost everyone, for example, assumed that a government ought to have a written charter or constitution. Each colony did. Some colonists received written charters from the trading companies or the proprietors who owned the land where they had settled. Others got charters from the king. Everywhere in the colonies, men became used to looking at their charters to find out what political rights they had. They were unlikely to start a government which did not state the rights and duties of government and citizen on paper.

The colonists feared a powerful central government. The king or his representatives in England had often vetoed, or refused to approve, bills passed by colonial governments. Governors appointed by the king had also vetoed laws too frequently to please independent colonists. Moreover, the royal government had taxed the colonists and regulated their trade. Because central governments had acted in this manner, the colonists had learned to rely on local institutions. They gave central authorities as little power as possible.

One tested way to limit the power of government was to separate its three branches, the executive, legislative, and judicial. During the eighteenth century, governors held executive power in most colonies. Colonial legislatures had two houses, one elected by the voters and the other appointed. Judges were usually appointed by the governor or by the king himself. Although the upper house of the legislature often heard court cases, the three branches of government had different functions. In many cases, one branch could check, or control, the power of another. A government in which all power was centralized in one man or in one institution would have been unthinkable to our colonial ancestors.

The colonial governments were not entirely democratic. Most governors and most members of the upper house of the legislature were appointed. Even the elected branches of the legislature were not fully democratic. Neither women nor slaves could vote. In addition, all the colonies had either property or religious qualifications for voting. On the whole, since most people owned property, most free white males could vote, more so in New England than in the South. But no realist could have hoped to write a constitution giving the vote to every adult. Nor could the founding fathers have agreed about who should have the right to vote, since each of the thirteen colonies had different laws governing voting rights.

A provision calling for political parties would not have made sense either. In our meaning of the term, the colonies had no real political parties. Each colony did have groups of people who

Members of the upper house were usually appointed by the governor.

disagreed with each other. In some cases, supporters of the colonial governor battled with his opponents. In others, men from the coast regions opposed inlanders who faced somewhat different problems, such as defense against the Indians. But these alliances based on common interests never became firm enough to form into lasting political parties with platforms and campaigns.

Local government also varied widely from one colony to another. Southern colonies such as Virginia often followed the English pattern. They used the county as the basic unit with a sheriff appointed by the colonial governor and a court made up of appointed justices of the peace. In New England, the basic unit of local government was the town, run by elected officials. In an annual town meeting, all the qualified voters decided issues by direct vote. The middle colonies, such as New York and Pennsylvania, had both county and town forms of government. It would have been quite difficult to get colonial people to agree on one system of local government for all sections of the country. They could agree, however, that criticism of any government, if true, was not a crime. This principle was established in the trial of a New York publisher named John Peter Zenger in 1734, a case which helped to establish the principle of liberty of the press for all the colonies.

With all these differences, what held the colonies together? Not direct political ties. Each colonial government had more direct ties to England than to each other. The flow of petitions and orders all centered in His Majesty's government. The governor of Massachusetts and the governor of Virginia had no official relationships to each other. Both had well-established relationships to London, however. Attempts were made to form political alliances among the colonies, but none succeeded before the American Revolution.

Nevertheless, even before the Revolutionary War, a few non-political ties linked the colonies. The steady growth of population resulted in an almost continuous line of settlements down the Atlantic seacoast. Coastal trade, the gradual construction of roads, and the improvement of the colonial postal service all formed links between colonies. The presence of two enemies, the Indians and the French, on the western frontier brought common problems which the colonies were forced to face and which helped to unify them. The common English language and the common set of customs that the colonists brought from abroad also helped link one colony to another.

Then came the quarrel with England. After 1763, the British government began to pass additional laws to regulate life in

The sheriff administered elections and collected taxes.

A justice of the peace was law officer in his district. He decided minor cases and prepared major cases for trial.

In a direct vote, all eligible voters may cast a ballot. In an indirect vote, representatives act in the voters' behalf.

► Should society pass a law against using abusive language to describe politicians?

By 1740, a postal route ran from Portsmouth, New Hampshire to Charles Town, South Carolina. Colonies north of Virginia had weekly postal service.

► Why does having an enemy in common often bring people together?



ARTICLES

OF

Confederation

AND

Perpetual Union

BETWEEN THE

STATES

OF

NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS BAY, RHODE ISLAND, AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS,
CONNECTICUT, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND,
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND GEORGIA

WILLIAMSBURG:

Printed by ALEXANDER PURDIE

2

WHAT SHAPED COLONIAL POLITICAL CULTURE?

The Constitution of the United States grew out of a common colonial political culture. Look at the illustrations on pages 92-95. What role did each of the events, regulations, laws, and so forth, which are pictured on these four pages, play in the development of that common culture?

VIRGINIA CHARTERS.

NUMBER I.

King JAMES I.'s LETTERS PATENT to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories of AMERICA. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanbam, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble ſuitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them

and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do, by these our letters patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended desires.

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our heirs and successors, Grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or

3

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Committee of Correspondence in New-York, having on Monday Night last proceeded to the Nomination of five Persons to go as Delegates for the said City and County, on the proposed General Congress at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September next; the five following Persons were nominated for that Purpose,

Philip Livingston,
James Duane,
John Alsop,
John Jay,
Isaac Low.

The Inhabitants, therefore, of this City and County, are requested to meet at the City-Hall, on THURSDAY next, at 12 o'Clock, in order to approve of the said five Persons as Delegates, or to choose such other in their Stead, as to their Wisdom shall seem meet.

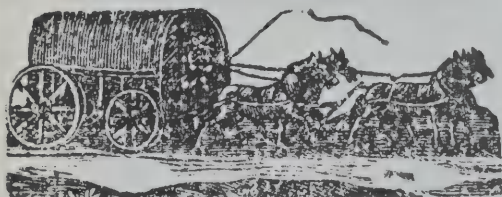
By Order of the Committee,

ISAAC LOW, CHAIRMAN.

TUESDAY, 5th
July, 1774.

J.

5



The Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Eastern
Shore

Line of Post Coach Carriages.

THE subscribers beg leave to inform the public, that they have established a complete line of Post Coach Carriages, to convey the public mail and baggage for hire between Philadelphia and Baltimore. And in order to make it convenient for passengers travelling to and from Philadelphia and Baltimore, they will convey passengers for hire between Philadelphia and Susquebanna; and between Susquebanna and Baltimore, they will convey all such passengers (gratis) that favor them with their company between Philadelphia and Susquebanna.

4

WILLIAMSBURG, SATURDAY, April 29, 1775.

LATE last night an express arrived from Philadelphia, with the following melancholy advices from the province of Connecticut, forwarded to the committee of correspondence in this city.

The blow (so much dreaded by our noble friend LORD CHATHAM) is now struck, a great deal of blood spilt, and much more, it is likely, than the present advices communicate. That great man, in his speech upon the necessity of withdrawing the troops from Boston (delivered in the House of Lords the 20th of January last) says: "Perhaps, even whilst I am now speaking, the decisive blow is struck, which may involve millions in the consequences; and, believe me, the very first drop of blood that is spilled will not be a wound easily skinned over; it will be irritable vulnus, a wound of that rancorous and festering kind, that, in all probability, will mortify the whole body."

PHILADELPHIA, April 24, 1775.

An express arrived at five o'clock this evening, by which we have the following advices, viz.

WATERTOWN, Wednesday morning, near 10 o'clock.

To all FRIENDS of AMERICAN LIBERTY.

BE it known, that this morning, before break of day, a brigade, consisting of about 1000 or 1200 men, landed at Phipps farm, at Cambridge, and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon whom they fired, without any provocation, and killed six men, and wounded four others. By an express from Boston, we find another brigade is now on its march from Boston, supposed to consist of 1000 men. The bearer, Trial Brisset, is charged to alarm the country, quite to Connecticut; and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses, as they may be needed. I have spoken with several, who have seen the dead and wounded. Pray let the Delegates from this colony to Connecticut see this; they know Col. Foster, one of the Delegates.

J. PALMER, one of the committee.

A true copy from the original, by order of the committee of correspondent of Worcester, April 1775.

Attested and forwarded by the committee of Brookline, Norwich, New London, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingworth, E. Guilford, Guilford, Branford, Newhaven.

6



In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War (1754-1763). By the terms of the treaty, France ceded Canada and most of her other holdings in North America east of the Mississippi to England. As a result, the colonies were less dependent on Britain, since they no longer needed protection from the French.

the colonies. A few Americans in every colony protested. They began to correspond with each other and to support each other's protests. Here was the real beginning of the ties which bound the leaders of the colonies together.

The Revolutionary War strengthened these ties. Soldiers from every colony, northern as well as southern, served in the army under the command of a Virginian, General George Washington. The wartime government, which was made up of delegates from all the rebelling colonies, was very weak, but it encouraged leaders to think along national instead of local lines. So did government under the Articles of Confederation, despite all its shortcomings. The revolutionists' final victory meant that all thirteen colonies had triumphed in a common cause.

FOR THOUGHT:

Would it be practical for new nations that have recently won their freedom to set up political institutions like those in the United States? Why or why not?

18 AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS: FEDERALISM

All the delegates to the Constitutional Convention agreed upon a few fundamental ideas. They thought that government exists because men have agreed that it should. And they believed that governments have power to the extent that men give them power. But disagreements arose over how this power should be used.

The Constitutional Convention met to create a national government that would have sufficient power to cope with the problems of the United States but could not destroy the individual states. To meet these conditions, the delegates adopted a system called federalism. Federalism divides power between the national government and the state governments. The national government has only those powers given, or delegated, to it by the Constitution. The state governments retain all powers not delegated to the national government, except those specifically denied by the Constitution. Federalism represented a compromise between those favoring confederation, or the retention of most political power by the governments of the individual

states, and those who favored a form of government in which more power would be delegated to the national government.

Broadly, the Constitution divides political power into these six groups:

1. Powers delegated to the national government (enumerated and implied powers)
2. Powers retained by state governments (residual powers)
3. Powers that can be exercised by both national and state governments (concurrent powers)
4. Powers denied to the state governments only
5. Powers denied to the national government only
6. Powers denied to both national and state governments

Reading 18 is a collection of articles from the Constitution of the United States of America. (The complete Constitution appears in the Appendix, pages 332–344). These articles were selected because they deal with the division of political power between the national and state governments. The wording has been simplified. Read these articles carefully. As you organize your notes, you may find it convenient to keep the six groups of powers listed above in mind.

1. What powers are delegated to the national government? What powers are retained by the state governments? What powers are shared by national and state governments?
2. What powers are denied state governments? What powers are denied the national government? What powers are denied both governments?

Excerpts from the Constitution of the United States

Article I

SECTION 1. A Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, shall have the power to make all national laws.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and way of holding elections to choose senators and representatives shall be decided in each state by its legislature.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 1. Congress has the right to collect taxes of various kinds to pay the debts of the national government, to defend the nation against enemies, and to provide for the welfare of the people. Taxes must be uniform; they must not discriminate against any section of the nation.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 2. Congress may borrow money.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 3. Congress may control trade with foreign nations, among the states, and with Indian tribes.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 4. Congress may make rules about how people may become citizens of the United States and what must be done in case of business failures.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 5. Congress may coin money and regulate its value. It may also regulate the value of foreign money used in the United States. Congress may set standards to be used for weighing and measuring.

To counterfeit is to imitate or copy.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 6. Congress may pass laws saying how those who counterfeit money should be punished.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 7. Congress can establish post offices and roads over which mail is to be carried.

Under copyright and patent laws writers, artists, and inventors may own their material exclusively for specified periods of time.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 8. Congress may encourage the progress of science and useful arts by securing for authors and inventors exclusive rights to their writings and discoveries for a limited period of time.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 10. Congress may decide on the punishment for crimes committed on the high seas and crimes in which foreign countries are involved.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 11. Congress may declare war.

► What might happen if Congress gave the army enough money to operate for ten years?

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 12. Congress may create an army and raise money to pay for its expenses. Only enough money to pay for two years' expenses can be given the army at any one time.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 13. Congress may create a navy and provide money to support it.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 14. Congress may make rules governing the armed forces.

The National Guard is a military force. Each state recruits guardsmen. Federal and state governments share the cost of equipping and maintaining them. The Guard may be called for national or local service.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 15. Congress may call out the National Guard to enforce the laws of the Union, to put down internal rebellion, and to resist foreign invasions.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 16. Congress may organize, arm, and discipline a citizens' army (the National Guard). The states may appoint the officers of this army, but the states must train them in the way Congress directs.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 17. Congress may make all rules governing the national capital and all other areas in which such national operations as forts or arsenals are located.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 18. Congress may make all laws necessary to carry out the powers delegated to the national government by this Constitution.

SECTION 9. CLAUSE 2. Individuals cannot be held prisoner unless there is sufficient evidence to hold them. Congress may suspend this privilege only if it threatens the public safety.

SECTION 9. CLAUSE 3. Congress may pass no law whose intent is to punish a particular person without a jury trial. Neither can Congress pass a law that would punish someone for doing something that was not against the law at the time he did it.

SECTION 9. CLAUSE 5. Congress must not tax goods sent out of any state.

SECTION 9. CLAUSE 6. Congress shall make no laws that would give the ports of one state an advantage over the ports of others.

SECTION 9. CLAUSE 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. . . .

SECTION 10. CLAUSE 1. State governments must not do the following: enter into agreements with foreign nations; issue coins or paper money; pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law; pass laws that destroy contracts agreed to by individuals; or grant any title of nobility.

SECTION 10. CLAUSE 2. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, tax goods entering or leaving their territory, except to cover the cost of inspection.

SECTION 10. CLAUSE 3. No state shall, without consent of Congress, tax ships entering its ports; maintain any army or navy in times of peace; make treaties with other states or with foreign powers; engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such immediate danger that delay is impossible.

Article II

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militias of the several states when they are called into the actual service of the United States.

The President shall, with the advice and consent of the Senate, have the power to make treaties.

► Who should govern Washington, D.C., the Congress or its citizens through their elected representatives? Why?

Clause 18 is called "the elastic clause." Congress may use it to justify passing a law which the Constitution does not specifically authorize or forbid. The Supreme Court may rule whether the law is "necessary and proper."

This is the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, a court order requiring a prisoner to be brought before a judge to determine whether there is enough evidence to hold him.

Such a law is called a bill of attainder.

This is known as an ex post facto law, meaning "from what is done afterwards."

Article III

SECTION 2. Federal courts shall have the power to rule on all cases involving the interpretation of the Constitution and federal laws.

Article IV

SECTION 1. Each state shall respect the laws of all other states.

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 1. The citizens of one state shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in all states.

This is the power of extradition.

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 2. If a person charged with a crime in one state flees from that state, he shall, on request of the governor, be returned to the state from which he fled.

In a republic, the power of government rests with the voters.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government. It shall protect each state against invasion and, at the request of the state, shall protect each state against domestic violence.

Article VI

CLAUSE 2. The Constitution and the laws of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land. Judges in every state shall be bound by them, even when state laws and state constitutions conflict with the national laws.

Amendment 10

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.

FOR THOUGHT:

In what way, if any, does federalism cause government to be inefficient?

In 1957, all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas was under court order to desegregate. Governor Orval Faubus claimed that integrating the high school would lead to mob violence, and he ordered the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine Negro students from attending classes. President Eisenhower then placed the Guard under federal control. He also sent in U.S. Army units to keep the peace while the court order was carried out.

In what way was each level of American government involved in the Little Rock incident?



National Guardsmen, called out by Governor Faubus, keep Central High School segregated.



Two white students show identification to local police guards.

National Guardsmen escort nine Negro students to a waiting army station wagon at the end of a school day.



19 AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS: CHECKS AND BALANCES

The national government, often referred to as the federal government, is divided into three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. In addition to the President, the executive branch of the government includes all the executive departments, bureaus, and agencies required to carry out the laws. Each member of the Cabinet heads an executive department. The legislative branch of the government includes the two houses of Congress plus such divisions as the Library of Congress and the Government Printing Office, which help Congress with its work. The judicial branch of government includes the entire system of federal courts, headed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

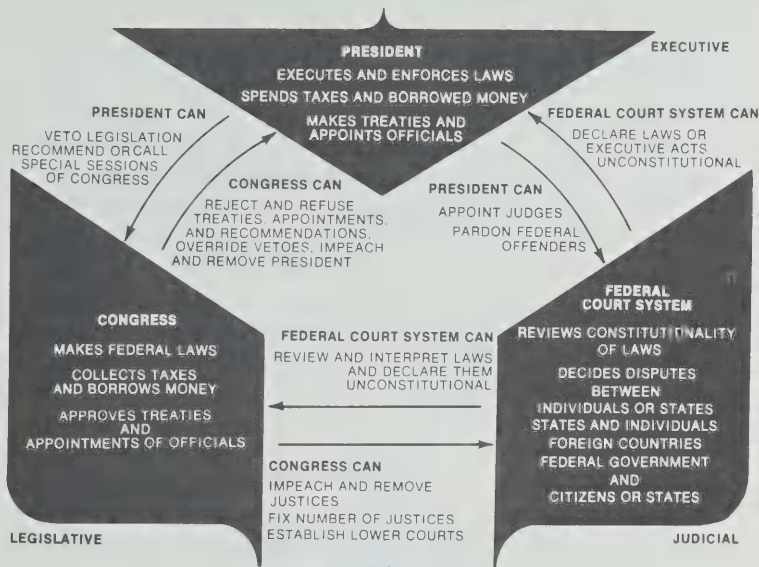
The men who wrote the American Constitution argued about how much power should be given to the federal government. They also disagreed about how the power given to the federal government should be divided among the three branches of government. Some wanted a strong executive, independent of the legislature, who could provide the country with direct and vigorous leadership. Others, who feared tyranny, wanted an executive controlled completely by the legislature.

The framers of the Constitution reached a compromise. They divided power among all three branches of the government, and they built a system of checks and balances into the Constitution. Power granted one branch of government was checked by power granted another. No one branch was to dominate either of the other two branches. The chart on the opposite page shows how the system works.

Reading 19 is a collection of articles from the Constitution that deals with the division of power at the federal level of government. Again, the wording has been simplified, and, in some cases, the article has been shortened. Think about the following questions as you read:

1. What powers are given by the Constitution to Congress? to the President? to the federal court system?
2. In general, what kinds of powers are given to the legislative branch of the government? to the executive branch? to the judicial branch?

SEPARATION OF FEDERAL POWERS



Article I

SECTION 1. A Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, shall have the power to make all national laws.

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall have the right to impeach, or bring charges against, officials of the United States suspected of serious wrongdoing.

SECTION 3. CLAUSE 4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be the President of the Senate. He shall preside over the Senate when it is in session, but will vote only in case of a tie.

SECTION 3. CLAUSE 5. The Senate shall choose its other officers, and also a temporary president who shall preside over the Senate when the Vice-President is absent.

SECTION 3. CLAUSE 6. The Senate shall have the right to try impeached officials. Ordinarily, the President of the Senate shall preside at impeachment trials, but if the President of the United States has been impeached, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall preside at his trial. No official shall be convicted of the charges brought against him unless two-thirds of the senators present at his trial find him guilty.

SECTION 3. CLAUSE 7. Congress can punish impeached officials found guilty only by removing them from office and forbidding them ever to hold another federal office. After impeachment, however, officials can be tried by a regular court and, if found guilty, punished in accordance with the law.

► Isn't it undemocratic to require a two-thirds vote for conviction in an impeachment trial?

SECTION 4. CLAUSE 1. The times, places, and way of holding elections to choose senators and representatives shall be decided in each state by its legislature, but the United States Congress may at any time change any of these regulations except regulations about where elections shall be held.

► What danger, if any, do you see in this provision?

SECTION 5. CLAUSE 1. Each house of Congress may judge whether its members were chosen by a fair election and whether they are properly qualified to be members of Congress. A representative or a senator may be kept from taking office if a majority of the members of the body to which he was elected vote him ineligible. . . .

SECTION 5. CLAUSE 2. Each house of Congress may make rules governing its work. They may also punish members for behaving improperly and may expel them if two thirds of the members of that house vote to do so.

SECTION 7. CLAUSE 1. All bills having to do with the raising of money, or *revenue*, must be introduced in the House of Representatives. However, the Senate can offer changes, or amendments, to revenue bills.

SECTION 7. CLAUSE 2. Every bill that is passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate shall be presented to the President. If he approves the bill, he shall sign it, thus making it law. If he does not approve, he may veto the bill. If he vetoes the bill, he shall return it, with his objections, to the house where the bill originated. That house shall then reconsider the bill. If, after reconsideration, two-thirds of the members of that house still vote to pass the bill, it shall be sent, with the President's objections, to the other house. It shall be reconsidered there; and if approved by two-thirds of that house also, the bill shall become law without the President's signature.

If a bill is not signed by the President within ten days of being presented to him (not counting Sundays), it shall automatically become law anyway, unless Congress has adjourned during those ten days, thus preventing the President's returning the bill to them within that time. If Congress adjourns during this ten-day period and the President does not sign the bill, the bill shall not become law.

The practice of holding a bill until Congress adjourns is called a pocket veto.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 1. Congress has the right to collect taxes of various kinds to pay the debts of the national government, to defend the nation against enemies, and to provide for the welfare of the people. Taxes must not discriminate against any section of the nation.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 2. Congress may borrow money.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 3. Congress may control trade with foreign nations, among the states, and with Indian tribes.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 4. Congress may make the rules governing how individuals become citizens of the United States. . . .

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 5. Congress may coin money and regulate its value . . .

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 11. Congress may declare war.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 12. Congress may create an army and raise money to pay for its expenses . . .

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 13. Congress may create a navy and provide money to support it.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 14. Congress may make rules governing the armed forces.

SECTION 8. CLAUSE 18. Congress may make all laws necessary to carry out the powers delegated to the national government by this Constitution.

Article II

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militias of the several states when they are called into the service of the United States. He may call for written reports from the heads of each of the executive departments (the members of his Cabinet) upon any subject relating to the work of their departments. He may grant pardons to persons convicted of crimes against the federal government or order their punishment to be delayed, except in the case of impeached government officials.

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 2. The President shall have the power to make treaties. These treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the senators present when the treaties are voted on. The President shall nominate and, with the approval of the Senate, appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and any other officers of the United States whose appointments have, by law, been provided for . . .

SECTION 3. The President shall from time to time give Congress information concerning the state of the Union. He may suggest for congressional consideration conditions which he feels require legislation. He may call special sessions of Congress and may adjourn Congress if the two houses cannot agree on an adjournment time.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officials of the federal government may be removed from office if Congress impeaches and convicts them of treason, bribery, or other crimes.

A United States ambassador, the highest-ranking diplomat, heads an embassy. The President appoints him with Senate approval. He helps negotiate treaties and represents the U.S. in the country where he is stationed. A consul heads a consulate. He issues passports and visas and protects Americans abroad.

In a State of the Union address, the President gives an annual report on economic conditions, world relations, and domestic affairs. He also proposes new programs and laws.

Article III

SECTION 2. CLAUSE 1. Federal courts shall rule on conflicts concerning interpretations of the Constitution and of federal laws . . . They have the power to rule on disagreements between the federal government and other governments or individuals. They may settle arguments between the states or between citizens of different states or between states and their citizens and foreign countries.

FOR THOUGHT:

Would government be more efficient without separation of powers? Would an individual or a small group of men be able to seize power more easily without separation of powers?

20 AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS: INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

After more than three months of debating, delegates to the Constitutional Convention agreed upon a document to present to their states for ratification (acceptance) as the Constitution of the United States. The arguments between those who favored a strong national government and those who favored a confederation had been compromised. The delegates had agreed on the distribution of powers among the three branches of government. But much doubt remained about whether the Constitution would be generally acceptable to the American people and to their state governments.

The original purpose of the convention had been merely to suggest amendments to the Articles of Confederation. But the delegates had gone much further. They had set aside the Articles of Confederation completely and had written a new constitution. They recognized that they probably could not get the Constitution adopted by all the states. Therefore, the delegates ruled that the Constitution would go into effect as soon as it was approved by nine of the thirteen states. But even approval by only nine states was not to prove easy.

One of the stumbling blocks was the delegates' failure to include in the Constitution a clear definition of the rights of the individual over which no government had power. The Constitu-

tion did mention a few individual rights, but many about which the people had strong feelings were ignored. There were no provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech or religion or the right to assemble or petition, for example.

Several states refused to ratify the Constitution until they were promised that amendments guaranteeing individual rights would be added. The first session of Congress wrote ten amendments dealing with the rights of the individual. By the end of 1791, the states had ratified the "Bill of Rights" and it became a part of the Constitution.

In preparation for the next class, read the Bill of Rights carefully. Then choose any three of these ten amendments. For each one, make up a short example—no more than a few sentences long—of an act by government or by a government official that the Bill of Rights forbids. Here is an example: "Last night, police officers searched my home. They did not tell me what they were looking for, and they did not have a search warrant." Write three examples in your notebook. Your teacher may ask students to read their examples, and the class can decide which amendment is involved in each case.

Amendment 1

Congress shall make no law that restricts people from worshiping as they please, from speaking freely, from assembling peaceably, or from complaining to the government if they think they have been treated unfairly. In addition, Congress shall not pass any law that restricts the freedom of the press.

Amendment 2

Since a citizens' army is necessary to the security of a free state, people shall be allowed to keep and bear arms.

Amendment 3

People shall not be forced to provide room and board in their homes to soldiers in times of peace. Nor shall they be forced to quarter soldiers in time of war unless a law is first passed requiring it.

To quarter, here, means to house.

Amendment 4

Government officials cannot search individuals or their homes or belongings unless a judge has first issued an official order authorizing the search. No warrant shall be issued unless there is reasonable evidence that a crime has been committed and will be exposed as a result of the search.

A warrant, issued by the proper official, authorizes a search, seizure, or arrest by officers of the law.

A grand jury decides whether there is enough evidence to charge someone with a crime and have him tried.

Amendment 5

No person shall be

- (1) tried for a serious crime unless a grand jury has first examined the evidence and decided that a trial is needed, except in cases arising in the armed forces in times of public danger;
- (2) tried for the same crime twice;
- (3) forced, in a criminal case, to be a witness against himself;
- (4) executed, imprisoned, or fined without a fair trial;
- (5) deprived of his property for public use unless he has first been given a fair price for it.

Amendment 6

Any person being tried for a criminal offense is entitled to

- (1) have a speedy and public trial;
- (2) have his case heard by an impartial jury chosen from citizens of the state and district in which the crime was committed;
- (3) know why he is being tried;
- (4) see and hear the witnesses who testify against him;
- (5) force witnesses who can give evidence in his favor to come to court to testify;
- (6) be defended by a lawyer appointed by the court if he cannot afford to pay for one himself.

Today, people rarely sue unless much more than twenty dollars is at stake.

Amendment 7

In law suits involving things valued at more than \$20, individuals have the right to a jury trial.

Amendment 8

Individuals accused of a crime cannot be required to pay excessive bail. Individuals found guilty of crimes cannot be required to pay excessive fines, nor can cruel or unusual punishments be inflicted.

Amendment 9

The fact that certain individual rights are guaranteed by the Constitution should not be interpreted to mean that rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution are denied the individual.

Amendment 10

The Constitution delegates certain powers to the national government of the United States. All other powers are retained by the states or by the people, except those powers specifically denied to the states by the Constitution.

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 5

For a full description of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 5A: Observation of a local political institution (individual or group)

Arrange to visit a local political institution, such as the city council, night court, a justice of the peace, or a school board meeting. Write a report describing what you have observed and how that particular institution fits into the American political system.

Activity 5B: Case study of the federal court system (individual)

Reading 4 in the **Book of Readings** is a case study of the federal court system in action as it decided the fate of the Pentagon Papers. Read this selection and then work on the related Study Guide assignment.

Political Institutions in the Soviet Union

STATING THE ISSUE

CHAPTER 6

On the surface, the political systems of the United States and the Soviet Union appear to be similar. Each has a written constitution that establishes a federal system; that is, each has a national government, regional governments called states in the United States and republics in the Soviet Union, and local governments. Each country has a two-house national legislature known as the Congress in the United States and the Supreme Soviet in the Soviet Union. Both governments have executive, legislative, and judicial branches. And both constitutions guarantee certain rights to citizens.

In reality, however, major differences exist between the two systems. One difference grows out of the role of political parties in the two countries. Unlike the Soviet constitution, the Constitution of the United States does not mention political parties. They grew up slowly during the early years of the nineteenth century because they worked well within the developing American political system.

In a democratic society, political parties provide a way by which citizens can try to get the government to do their will. Some democracies have several political parties. The United States has a two-party system. Because citizens have different values and goals, they, and the political parties they belong to, often disagree with each other about what government should do.

The Soviet Union has one political party. The first two Soviet constitutions, written in 1918 and 1924, did not mention parties.

✓ However, Article 126 of the latest constitution states that "... the most active and politically conscious citizens . . . voluntarily unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . ." No other political parties are allowed to exist. The Communist Party rather than the formal government runs the country.

Chapter 6 examines political institutions in the Soviet Union. Reading 21 explains the philosophy of the Party—democratic centralism. Reading 22 describes the party organization. Reading 23 examines the structure of the formal government. The final reading traces the links between the Party and the formal government.

21 DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The introduction to Reading 15 described briefly the Bolshevik triumph in the November 1917 revolution in Russia.

✓ Fewer than 250,000 people belonged to the Bolshevik (Communist) faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party late in 1917. At this time, more than three-fourths of Russia's 160,000,000 people were illiterate peasants who wanted two changes. They wanted to own their own land free of debt or of duties to landlords or the government, and they wanted World War I to end. Almost none of the peasants and few factory workers knew about the ideas of Karl Marx and his Russian followers, led by Lenin.

✓ Since 1917, the Soviet Union has had three constitutions. Both the 1918 and the 1924 constitutions gave workers one representative to the Supreme Soviet for every 25,000 voters, while peasants received one representative for every 125,000 voters.

✓ Equality in representation came only with the 1936 constitution. These provisions of the 1918 and 1924 constitutions show one way in which the Communist Party tried to stop the peasants from turning back the revolution.

Aside from keeping the proportion of peasants in the formal government at a low level, the Communists had a more important way to gain and maintain control. This method involved the role of the Communist Party in the Soviet government.

Lenin claimed that the Soviet Union was moving toward a Communist society in which all government would disappear

and men and women would work voluntarily for the good of all. In the meantime, he said, the Soviet state was in a socialist stage of development in which traces of capitalism and "bourgeois democracy" remained. Until the new Soviet man had been created, leadership must remain in the hands of the small minority who best understood the nature of the coming Communist society. Lenin found this minority in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He argued that any opposition to these leaders would be harmful because it would come from enemies—capitalists, admirers of the West, or those who wished to return to the Russian past. By Marxist definition, such people could not have the welfare of everyone at heart. Therefore, the Party and only the Party must govern.

But if the Party alone had power, how could the voice of the people be heard? Democratic centralism was supposed to assume that all points of view within the Party would be considered. Party rules define democratic centralism by four principles:

1. All party executives from the bottom to the top shall be elected.
2. All party groups will be accountable to party organizations and to higher party bodies.
3. The Party enforces strict discipline and subordination of minority views within the Party to the views of the majority.
4. All decisions made by higher bodies in the Party must be obeyed by all lower bodies.

The following reading is by a Soviet philosopher and historian. In this article, he explains and defends the ideas of democratic centralism. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. According to the author of this article, why is the Soviet Union a democratic society and the United States an undemocratic society? Do you agree or do you disagree with his point of view?
2. Examine the four principles of democratic centralism in the introduction to this reading. How do the third and fourth principles influence your opinion of whether the Communist Party is democratic?

The Pattern of Soviet Democracy

"The Pattern of Soviet Democracy" by G. F. Aleksandrov, taken from *The Soviet Crucible* by Samuel Hendel. Copyright © 1967 by Litton Educational Publishing Inc. Reprinted by permission of Van Nostrand Reinhold Co.

Critics of Soviet democracy agree about one requirement for so-called "genuine" democracy. They ask: If the Bolsheviks are right and are living by democratic principles, why is there only one political party in the Soviet Union? Doesn't a true democracy require a constant struggle among several parties? Won't there be more freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of thought about society and government if several parties compete? Won't society be better off if government policy is looked at from the point of view of various social groups, political principles, and political parties?

The concept of democracy means popular sovereignty in general. A democracy is a political system which governs in the interests of the people and with their participation. For this reason, whether a country has a democratic government is not a question of how many political parties—one, two, or several—that it has. It is a question of the kind of political institutions, the nature of the government, and the domestic and foreign policies which a nation and its government develop.

Americans often cite their country as an example of a nation which has two major political parties and is therefore democratic. Lenin pointed out that the two bourgeois parties in America were stable and vigorous after the Civil War, which was fought over the question of slavery between 1860 and 1865. The party of the former slaveholders is the so-called Democratic party. The party of the capitalists, standing for the emancipation of the Negroes, developed into the Republican party. Lenin said:

After the emancipation of the Negroes, the difference between the parties grew less and less. The struggle between the parties took place mainly over the question of higher or lower tariffs. This struggle was not significant for the mass of the people. The meaningless arguments over the tariff drew the attention of the people away from their true interests. The so-called "two-party system" helped to hinder the rise of an independent workers', that is, a truly socialistic, party.

Popular sovereignty means that the people have supreme power.

Tariffs are taxes which a government imposes, usually on imports.

► What would it be like to live in a society where you usually agreed with government policy but had no voice in policy-making?

Exploiting means taking advantage of. In this use, exploiters are those who make a profit from the labor of others.

Kulaks were prosperous peasants with large farms or businesses.

Communists consider income unearned if it has not resulted from one's own labor.

► To what extent, if any, do you think that "unearned income," such as rent for a house or dividends from stock, represents exploitation?

Is not the existence of several parties the sign of a true and genuine democracy? We Soviet people say clearly and without question: no, it is not. Whether a country is democratic is not determined by the number of political parties but by the policies of the government. It is democratic if policies are made and carried out in the interests of the people, in the interests of the great majority rather than of the minority.

Soviet democracy expresses the interests of a socialist society. Soviet society begins when exploiting classes such as land-owners, manufacturers, financiers, bankers, kulaks, speculators and other groups who live on unearned income cease to exist. Society then begins to develop as a friendly alliance of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia. As long as exploiting classes exist, they try to protect their own political interests. They create their own political parties to protect their private interests and to subordinate the interests of the rest of the society to their own good. But after the socialist order triumphs, no place remains in society for oppressing classes. The time comes for a great unity of the people of all the society to develop. In this period, the former need for rival political parties disappears.

A party which can represent the most important interests of the whole of a society can develop the quickest practical plan for a new life—a life without exploiters or parasites. Through its organizational work, that party can rally all of the society around it and lead it along new paths. By its devoted and self-sacrificing service to the people, the Communist Party has won unquestioned and undisputed authority throughout all of society.

The Party expresses the deepest desires, goals, and ideals of the overwhelming majority of the population. In this situation, the necessity—even the possibility—for the existence of another political party disappears. Any other party that might arise in Soviet society could have only one program: to return to the past, to the old, to the life which our people have already rejected.

FOR THOUGHT:

What happens to minority opinions where there is only a one-party political system? Is it possible for a society to be considered democratic if it does not permit the free expression of unpopular ideas?

22 THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

In 1971, 14.5 million people belonged to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, about six percent of the total Soviet population. The Party—especially those who direct it—controls the political and economic life of all the people.

Committees, arranged like a pyramid with the most powerful at the top, run the Party. The diagram below shows the way in which the Party is organized. At each of these levels, the members elect a party committee, sometimes called a Central Committee or a Bureau, run by a secretary or secretaries who carry on the day-to-day work of the Party. Most secretaries are paid and work full-time on party affairs. They take most of their orders from the Politbureau of the Party Central Committee.

The Party Congress meets every three or four years. About 5,000 elected representatives with voting powers attend the Congress along with 300 candidate members who have no vote.



Membership in the Communist Party is carefully controlled. A candidate member is one who has not yet passed his probation period—he is still just a candidate for membership in the Party. Therefore, he has no vote on party matters.

The Party Congress elects the All-Union Central Committee, hears the reports of this Committee, and reviews the party program and statutes. In theory, the Congress sets party policy at home and decides foreign policy, but, in practice, it has no power. The All-Union Committee controls what happens at the Congress meetings by setting the agenda and determining who shall speak.

The All-Union Central Committee meets twice a year. About two-thirds of its 195 members and 165 candidate members are salaried party workers. Meetings of this large body usually feature nothing more than party announcements, speeches, and progress reports. A smaller group, the Central Committee Secretariat, is the administrative arm of the Committee. But, again, neither the Central Committee nor its Secretariat has any real power. The real power center of the Communist Party lies in the Politbureau.

Fifteen men make up the Politbureau. These leaders rule the Soviet state. They determine party policy and direct the workings of the government. Technically, the All-Union Central Committee elects Politbureau members and can remove them. But in fact, the Politbureau itself decides who will become a member. This is so because the First Secretary of the Party Central Committee is always the head of the Politbureau. He hand-picks men for the top level of power. He is able to fill key party positions with his supporters. With them he controls the Party and the state with a firm hand.

Almost all the decisions made in all these party organizations are unanimous. The Party carefully hides any differences of opinion which do exist. The theory of democratic centralism suggests that every party member has a voice in decisions. In reality, most organizations within the Party are rubber stamps. They do what the level of the Party above them tells them to do. Real power rests with a small elite at the very top of the party structure. Lower-level party members carry out the decisions of the elite.

The reading which follows describes the organization and functions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, particularly at the lower levels. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. Which Soviet citizens are likely to become members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?
2. What are the major functions of party members?
3. What are the advantages of being a party member? the disadvantages?

The 8,708,000 “Elite” of Russia

Because this article was written in 1960, it reflects census figures of that time. More recent statistics show about 14.5 million party members in a population of 241 million.

The essential difference between the Communist and republican systems of government is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union’s recognized and supreme authority over the Soviet government itself and its long reach into the management of every factory and farm, dance troupe, fire brigade, and infantry battalion. Through a giant network of inspectors-general, the Communists audit all books and supervise all activity. They control the press and radio. Party members responsible to the party hierarchy have offices beside those of factory directors, university rectors, infantry colonels.

... The theoretical rationale for party superiority is disarmingly simple: Marx said that workers were the only producers of wealth and thus should run society; therefore, added Lenin, the ideal form of government is a dictatorship of the proletariat – namely the Communist Party, which considers itself the “vanguard of the proletariat.” Marxism-Leninism this “science” is called.

To know everything best, the C.P.S.U. needs the best men in everything. To control everything, it needs to control the leaders of everything. The country’s problems are its problems. And, of course, as the country changes, the C.P.S.U. changes.

In 1905, twelve years before it seized power, the Party was a band of 8,500 outlaws. The chief qualification for membership was skill at subversion. At the start of the fateful year of 1917, it still had only 23,000 members.

Responsibility brought expansion. Men were needed to seize all property, to keep the factories going, and to fight the civil war. Until it had firm control of the nation, however, the Party expanded more carefully. It did not admit its millionth member until 1926.

Its rapid growth began with Stalin’s five-year plans. To manage the breakneck industrialization, the Party now needed not only politicians but planners and economists, engineers and city builders, gifted diplomats and shrewd propagandists, men to control the growing army and to restore order on the collectivized farms, and zealous workers to set the high factory norms of output.

Max Frankel, *The New York Times* May 29, 1960, VI, p. 9. © 1960 by The New York Times Company.
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► What would your life be like if every activity came under political supervision?

A university rector is head of a university.

The five-year plans set schedules and goals for industrial and agricultural output.

Nikita Khrushchev became First Secretary of the Communist Party in 1953, after Stalin's death. In 1958, he was appointed Premier of the Soviet Union as well. He held both posts until October 1964, when he was forced to resign.

Exhortations are urgings.

Rhetoric is expressive speech or writing. Sometimes rhetoric implies inflated, pompous style.

Church is off-limits because Communists are supposed to be atheists.

Exemplary behavior is model conduct.

► If you were a Soviet citizen, to what degree would the rewards of party work balance the extra effort that party membership demands?

In the next decade the Party had a net gain of only another 1,000,000 members, but many times that number passed through its ranks to be tested and discarded or purged. Energetic, educated, and, above all, disciplined organization men were wanted, not romantic socialist reformers. . . . When Stalin died in 1953, there were 6,880,000 names on the rolls.

The doors were flung open . . . as soon as Nikita Khrushchev felt himself in command. . . . He . . . admitted 2,000,000 new members in an intensive search for young blood capable of controlling a complex industrial society, now a world power. . . .

The pressure for results runs through the Party from top to bottom. More, higher, greater, better, cheaper—more, comrades, there must be more. The party member is the bearer of these exhortations, and he is judged by his success at keeping others happily and productively at work. The ordinary party member also has the difficult assignment of listening to and promising to act on gripes, complaints, and criticism from below.

At the base of the party pyramid are machinists and bricklayers, tractor drivers and teachers, musicians and nuclear physicists. They spend long evenings at meetings to be attuned to the party line at every moment and to become fluent in the special rhetoric of the faith. . . .

The party man must exhort, explain, and defend. When volunteers are called, he must rush to volunteer—to work on Sunday or to move to Siberia. He must not get drunk. He must not be seen in church. And no matter how exemplary his behavior, when things go wrong and hundreds are at fault, he gets the blame.

Because they appreciate the difficulties of life in the Party, non-party Russians judge members as they would anyone else, without special envy or resentment. They know that Communists live well for their station in life, but they know too that the Communist is always at work. He is known to sacrifice much of his individuality for the vague satisfactions of organizational triumph. There are strident bossy comrades in the Party, too, of course. But they are disliked for their human qualities, not because they own a party book. Enlistment in the Party is an act of individual faith, a complex act inspired by a desire to serve, to know, to succeed, to lead. The zealous lathe operator, always surpassing his assigned quota, the influential professor, the outstanding milkmaid, and the high-ranking army officer need not seek membership. It seeks them, and they rarely refuse.

The road to membership for the ambitious Soviet youngster is through excellence on the job or in school, clean living, enthusiasm for party doctrine, helpfulness at election time or

harvest time. A good record in the Young Communist League is especially valuable.

The big step is into candidate membership—a year's probation to test the character, loyalty, and knowledge of the newcomer. Any three party members may propose anyone over eighteen; approval by a local party cell completes the admission process. To expel a member, formal charges must be filed by the local unit and extensive hearings and a review by the next highest party organ be held.

Party members are divided into about 500,000 cells, with a membership of from three to several hundred each. They operate in plants, stores, ministries, institutes, villages, and even submarines.

The born glad hander and the obvious leader can normally expect to reach at least one higher rung on the party ladder. As a secretary of a large cell or city or county committee, he becomes one of the several hundreds of thousands of full-time party workers responsible for whole districts or industries, for the operation of government, the administration of justice, and the morals of the population.

As in an army, the routine is strict, and party officials are expected to fit in anywhere from the Baltic to the Pacific. . . . Naturally, the leadership of key industrial or population centers tends to catapult a party man to national influence.

To catapult is to throw or to hurl.

FOR THOUGHT:

To what degree does this article support the idea that democratic centralism really works from the bottom up as well as from the top down?

23 THE FORMAL GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.S.R.

The constitution of the Soviet Union outlines a democratic political system. All power seems to rest in the hands of officials who are elected by universal suffrage. Anyone 18 years of age or older has the right to vote, and every citizen who is at least 23 is eligible to hold any office. The constitution guarantees freedom of speech, press, and assembly. It guarantees even the

right to work. Yet, as Reading 22 pointed out, the real power to govern rests with a few party leaders, many of whom also have positions in the formal government. Reading 24 will explain the ties through which the Party controls the formal government.

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is a federal union. Article 13 of the constitution sets up fifteen Soviet Socialist Republics. Each republic has its own constitution, and each has all the powers not given to the national government by the all-union constitution. Within some of the republics, the constitution sets up Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and Autonomous Regions, in order to give a measure of independence to various nationality groups in Soviet society. Although the two systems operate in quite different ways, the United States and the Soviet Union have federalism as a common institution.

Unlike the United States, however, the Soviet Union does not have checks and balances in its political institutions. No one can veto acts of the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Court cannot declare laws unconstitutional. Between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, both the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, made up of the heads of government departments, can enact legislation that has the force of law until the next meeting of the Supreme Soviet. In theory, the Supreme Soviet can decide not to accept such laws, but it has never done so. The theoretical check on power does not work in practice.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have constitutional provisions to protect the rights of citizens. These provisions differ in the two documents. There is also a difference in the way in which the two governments observe them.

Reading 23 uses parts of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Appendix, pages 345-357. The constitutional clauses you should read for this assignment are printed in blue type. Of course, you may read any other parts of the constitution, or the entire document, if you wish to. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What legislative, executive, and judicial institutions does the constitution of the U.S.S.R. establish?
2. In what respects is this constitution democratic? In what respects is it undemocratic?

FOR THOUGHT:

Which set of political institutions, those of the United States or those of the Soviet Union, do you think can best achieve the kind of society you would like to live in? Why?

24 THE LINKS BETWEEN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

Western thinkers believe that modern democracies have three major characteristics: majority rule, minority rights, and a pluralistic society. By majority rule, they mean that political decisions are made by the majority of people. By minority rights, they mean that all citizens have been given certain rights and that the political system protects these rights, even if the majority would like to take some of them away at a particular moment. By pluralism, they mean that the government shares power with private groups representing different points of view and a variety of life styles. These groups operate independently, without control by a central authority.

In theory, the Soviet Union is a modern democracy; in fact, it is not. The role of the Party in the government shows that the Soviet Union is not a pluralistic society. It is what scholars call monistic. No important groups exist independent of the Communist Party, which controls every aspect of Soviet life. Reading 24 describes how the Communist Party controls the formal government of the Soviet Union. As you read, think about these questions:

1. What are the four major ways in which the Party controls the formal government?
2. Why did the Party want such firm control of Soviet life?

How the Communist Party Runs the Soviet Union

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union controls the political life of the nation. This control can be seen in four ways. First, the ideology on which the Party was founded—Marxism-Leninism—gives the Party a special place in the political structure. Second, the party organization enables its leaders to control the whole political process. Third, the formal institu-

Ideology is the group of ideas and theories that form the basis of a political, economic, or social system. For example, socialist ideology maintains that the means of production should be publicly owned.

tions of government have been set up to make party control easy. Finally, party members hold key jobs in the formal government, particularly at higher levels.

The major ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been written into the Soviet constitution. Among these ideas are public ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the "capitalist class", and the development of a government and a society based on the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In practice, this principle means dictatorship by members of the Communist Party who, according to Communist theory, alone understand and represent the needs of the workers.

All Soviet students learn the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in the schools. What they read, see, and hear as adults reflects the same point of view. The Communist Party controls all publishing and broadcasting in the Soviet Union. It controls labor unions, cultural organizations, youth groups, and every other form of group activity. In all these organizations, the Party teaches the official ideology. Most citizens believe this ideology and accept the role of the Communist Party in their political lives as a proper one.

After they gained control of the government, Communist Party officials eliminated all organized opposition to their rule. They used the secret police to search out individuals and organizations hostile to the revolution. The secret police arrested former members of the tsarist government, former capitalists, and even many Communists who did not agree with the regime. After 1928, Stalin used the police to eliminate opponents and potential opponents of his five-year plans. Of the Soviet Union's 25 million peasant families, about one million were Kulaks. Stalin tried to force them to join their lands in collective or state farms. If they refused, the secret police drove them from their land, took their property, and either deported them to slave labor camps or shot them.

Stalin also used the secret police to attack potential opponents within the ranks of the Party, including many of his oldest friends and colleagues. A number of purges took place. Estimates of how many people were killed or sent to forced labor camps range from 6 million to 14 million. Late in the 1930's, Stalin purged the secret police itself, getting rid of other potential opponents. The purges effectively wiped out opposition to the role of the Communist Party. The present Soviet government does not execute people wholesale or run numerous forced labor camps. But the purges still serve as a warning to anyone who may be thinking of starting an opposition movement or varying from the line set forth by the Party.

► To what degree might society progress faster if citizens did not argue constantly over both ends and means?

► How, if at all, can a society justify purges of this sort?

The organization and structure of the Communist Party helps to explain the ways in which it controls the formal government. The Party and the government have parallel structures; that is, for each level of the government, there is a level in the Party. Article 126 of the Soviet constitution gives official recognition to the Communist Party's place within the government. In all elections, ballots list one candidate for each office. The candidate is a party member, or has party approval. Voters either vote for this person or against him. Candidates for the Supreme Soviet usually have excellent records of hard work and party loyalty—from farmers and miners to scientists, managers, and generals.

Communist Party officials play a part in all organizations. Each factory has a party official on its staff. He often holds meetings with workers, urging them to devote themselves to Communist ideals. Schools, farms, the army, and other institutions have similar officials.

The way in which the formal government operates also makes it easy for the Party to control affairs. The Supreme Soviet is composed of two houses, the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union. It meets twice a year, each time for only a few days. Members of the Supreme Soviet are not paid. They live on the salaries or wages they get from their regular jobs. They receive a paid leave-of-absence for the days when they attend meetings of the Supreme Soviet.

Before a session of the Supreme Soviet, a "Council of Elders," made up of senior deputies to the Supreme Soviet, plans what will take place there. According to a Soviet legal textbook, the councils work under the direction of the party group of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is made up of deputies who are party members. This practice gives the Party control of the agenda.

The legislation that comes before the Supreme Soviet has been drafted in advance by one of three groups. Both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities establish ten permanent commissions, which remain in office throughout the four-year term of a Supreme Soviet. The commissions draw up bills to come before the legislature. An even larger number of bills comes from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The Presidium has the power to issue edicts between sessions of the Supreme Soviet. These edicts are then considered by both houses of the legislature at its next meeting. If they are passed, they become law. Neither house has rejected one. Finally, the Council of Ministers issues decrees between meetings of the Supreme Soviet. These decrees also come before the legislature as bills. Again, the Supreme Soviet has never voted against such measures. In fact, all bills passed by the Supreme Soviet have

Edicts are official public proclamations having the force of law.

The Council of Ministers oversees various areas of management, such as electricity, mining, and transport.

been passed by unanimous vote. All three of the groups that draft legislation—the permanent commissions, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers—are dominated by party leaders.

The final and most important way in which the Party dominates the formal government is by overlapping the membership in the two groups. Every important position in the government is held by a member of the Communist Party. Most major party officers also have important state jobs.

FOR THOUGHT:

What are the advantages of one-party rule? the disadvantages?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 6

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 6A: Skit about Communist Party members' activities (group)
Reading 5 in the **Book of Readings** gives the official list of primary party unit functions as they are outlined in the party rules. With this list in mind, write a skit about a C.P.S.U. meeting that illustrates both the Party's activities and its application of the concept of democratic centralism. Finally, lead the class in a discussion comparing the Communist practice of democratic centralism with the American style of democracy.

Activity 6B: Analysis of the relationship between the Soviet government and the Communist Party (individual or group)
Compare a list of members of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee with a list of top government officials in the Soviet Union. From these two lists, devise a chart or diagram to explain the relationship between the government of the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U.



UNIT 4

Political Decision-Makers

Political Decision-Makers in the United States

STATING THE ISSUE

CHAPTER

7

In a primitive society, one person may play important roles in several areas of life. One man may at the same time be an economic, political, educational, religious, and military leader. In more complex societies, these roles are divided among different men and women. Most politicians in the United States and the Soviet Union, for example, give their entire lives to politics. Other men and women run the churches, the industries, the schools, and the army.

Modern societies have even developed specialists within each area of life. In American politics, for example, five kinds of political decision-makers have important roles. Three of these five types are political leaders, each with large groups of followers. They include elected officials, such as the President, congressmen, governors, mayors, and the members of state legislatures and city councils. Government executives, such as members of the Cabinet or advisers to the President, also have leadership roles. Finally, party organizers, such as the national chairmen of the Republican and Democratic parties, can lead by influencing the choice of candidates and the stands which their parties take on key issues.

The other two types of political decision-makers—bureaucrats and judges—usually have few followers. They are not really leaders. The national government employs more than 2.5 million bureaucrats to carry out the laws. Most of them get their jobs by taking competitive civil service examinations. Judges on the national, state, and local levels make up the final group of decision-makers. Like bureaucrats, they usually have no organized group of followers and therefore are not leaders.

In addition, a few individuals with no formal government connections sometimes make political decisions. These people usually work on the local level. They have enough influence there to persuade local officials to pass a law or to make a ruling which they want.

Chapter 7 examines the characteristics of all these types of decision-makers and analyzes the ways in which they get their jobs.

25 THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS

In the early 1950's, a political scientist examined the voting records of senators in the 81st Congress (1949-1951). First he classified the bills on which senators voted into two groups: conservative and liberal. By conservative, he meant bills that tended to keep things as they are. By liberal, he meant bills that would bring about change. Then he recorded the votes of all senators on all of these bills.

He discovered that young senators were more liberal than older ones no matter which party they belonged to. On the whole, Catholic senators were more liberal than Protestants. Senators who were immigrants or the children of immigrants were more liberal than those whose families had lived longer in the United States. Senators who were lawyers or professors were more liberal than senators who had been businessmen. The longer a senator had been in politics, the more likely he was to be middle-of-the-road rather than extremely liberal or extremely conservative.

These conclusions show the importance of the social backgrounds of political decision-makers. A Senate with many members who were young, Catholic, immigrants, and trained as

lawyers or professors would vote differently from a Senate of older Protestant businessmen whose families had lived for several generations in the United States.

Reading 25 contains information about the social backgrounds of United States congressmen. Reading 35 contains data about the social backgrounds of leading politicians from the Soviet Union. Taken together, these readings help to compare a democratic and an authoritarian political system. Reading 25 will begin this comparison. Study questions accompany each collection of data.

Figures for the occupations of fathers of present congressmen have not been compiled. However, such figures are recorded for the 81st Congress (1949-51). Authorities think that the percentages have changed little during the past twenty years.

**TABLE 25A OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF FATHERS
OF AMERICAN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS**
(In Percentages)

Occupational Class of Father	U.S. Senators 81st Congress 1949-51	Labor Force 1890
Professional	22	5
Proprietors & officials	33	6
Farmers	40	26
Low salaried workers	1	5
Wage earners	3	36
Servants	0	7
Farm laborers	0	15
Unknown, unclassified	1	0

1. What did most people do for a living in 1890?
2. What did the fathers of most political decision-makers do for a living?
3. What difference does it make if people descended from farmers, wage earners, or farm laborers seldom get into important political decision-making jobs?

TABLE 25B FORMER OCCUPATIONS OF CONGRESSMEN
92nd CONGRESS, 1971

	In Congress [°]		In Labor Force ^{°°}	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professionals	364	68	11,140,000	14.2
Law	304	57	343,000	.4
Other ^{***}	60	11	10,797,000	13.8
Businessmen and officials	118	22	8,289,000	10.5
Farmers and ranchers	15	3	1,753,000	2.2
Wage earners	2	.4	50,789,000	64.6
Laborers and servants	—	—	6,655,000	8.4
Unknown, unclassified	35	6.6	—	—

[°] From The Congressional Directory, 1971

^{°°} From the Bureau of Labor Statistics

^{***} Includes journalists, scientists, educators, engineers, physicians, social workers, veterinarians, entertainers.

1. How did most of the labor force earn a living in 1970?
2. What was the occupation of most congressmen before election to the 92nd Congress?
3. What difference does it make if some groups, such as laborers and servants, seldom serve in Congress?

TABLE 25C MINORITIES IN CONGRESS
92nd CONGRESS, 1971

Fourteen black Americans serve as members in the 92nd Congress—a greater number than at any other time in United States history. The thirteen blacks who have seats in the House of Representatives are all Democrats. A Massachusetts Republican, Edward Brooke, is the only black senator. The number of blacks to sit in Congress has increased gradually, but steadily, since 1928, when Representative Oscar De Priest, an Illinois Republican, became the first man of his race elected in this century. According to the 1970 Census, blacks make up 11 percent of the United States population.

There are no American Indians in Congress. Some members of Congress are of Oriental descent. Figures on the representation of other minority groups, such as Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, have not been compiled.

► In what way, if any, can a minority group member better represent his people than a sympathetic non-member?

Thirteen women serve in the 92nd Congress. This is the largest number of women in Congress since 1964. Twelve sit in the House of Representatives. A Maine Republican, Margaret Chase Smith, is the only female senator. Women accounted for 51 percent of the 1970 United States population.

1. To what degree are members of minority groups directly underrepresented in the Congress? Should they be represented in proportion to their numbers in the population?
2. What difference, if any, would it make if half the members of Congress were women? If fifteen or twenty percent were black, Indian, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Oriental?

► What education do you think a congressman should have? Why?

TABLE 25D EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF CONGRESSMEN 92nd CONGRESS, 1971

Education	In Congress ^o		In Adult U. S. Population ^{o o}	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade School	0	—	35,440,000	23.5
High School	12	2.2	80,953,000	53.8
College	121	22.7	26,590,000	17.6
Graduate Work	372	69.7	5,255,000	3.5
Unknown	29	5.4	2,221,000	1.5

^oFrom The Congressional Directory, 1971

^{o o}From the Bureau of the Census

1. How much education did most adult Americans have in 1970?
2. How much education did most members of Congress have in 1971?
3. What difference might it make if a larger proportion of poorly educated citizens were elected to serve as members of Congress?

TABLE 25E RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF CONGRESSMEN
92nd CONGRESS, 1971

Religion	Total in Congress ^a	Claimed Membership in the U.S. [#]
Protestant	403	69,740,000
United Church of Christ and Congregationalist	26	2,107,000
Presbyterian	83	3,165,000
Episcopal	66	3,330,000
Unitarian	8	265,000
Methodist (United)	85	10,824,000
Lutheran	14	8,481,000
Baptist	50	20,260,000
Latter-day Saints	10	1,931,000
Society of Friends	4	31,000
Christian Science	5	+
Christian Churches	11	1,444,000
Roman Catholic	113	47,872,000
Jewish	14	5,780,000
None	4	

^aFrom the Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Reports, January 15, 1971

[#]From the Yearbook of American Churches 1971 (Council Press, National Council of Churches, pp. 178-188)

+This church's Manual prohibits the numbering of people and the reporting of such statistics for publication.

1. What religious groups are underrepresented in the Congress? Which are overrepresented?
2. What difference, if any, would it make if members of all religious groups were represented proportionally in the Congress?

26 THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

Reading 25 showed that some people have a greater chance than others to become political decision-makers. Men have a better chance than women. Whites have a better chance

than people of other races. Among white males, those who are well educated professionals, who are members of Protestant churches, and whose families have lived in the United States for more than two generations have a better chance than anyone else to occupy decision-making positions.

The Constitution lays down formal rules for the Presidency. Any native-born citizen, 35 years of age or older, who has lived in the United States for fourteen years or more is eligible to become President. However, only white males have held this post. Reading 26 indicates that informal rules also play a part in recruiting Presidents. It suggests nine tests for men who would like to be President. These tests have nothing to do with the rules that are laid down in the Constitution. They describe the customs—the informal rules—which have guided the choice of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates in the past.

Except for the “Test of Political Talent,” the tests proposed here have little to do with the roles which a President must perform. Any President must fill six major roles. He must be the government’s chief administrator, making sure that the laws are carried out. To do so, he must delegate authority to his Cabinet and to special bureau chiefs who report directly to him. He must be chief legislator, sponsoring and drafting bills for Congress and approving or vetoing laws. He must act as the head of his political party and try to get as many party members elected as possible. In addition, he must be the chief foreign policy maker, negotiating treaties and agreements with other countries, either directly or through men he appoints. He must also be commander in chief of the armed forces. Finally, he must be chief of state, the only man who represents the whole nation, expected to rise above the partisan claims of majority and minority groups alike.

The following article was written in 1959. Since then, American politics have been changing rapidly. During your next class session, you will receive information about the candidates for President and Vice-President in the years since 1960. After studying their backgrounds, decide whether the tests described here still hold. As you read this article, think about the following questions:

1. What are the nine tests for a Presidential hopeful? Be able to explain the reasoning behind each test.
2. Why might a political party hesitate to nominate a man who could not pass two or three of these tests?

Nine Tests for the Presidential Hopeful

Sidney Hyman, *The New York Times Magazine*, January 4, 1959, © 1959 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

1. The Rule of Political Talent

Before anyone can be considered as a possible candidate, he must have had some connection with the government in an appointed or elected office. It can be a governorship, or a leading place in the Congress, the Cabinet, the judiciary, or the military.

► What are the advantages of prior government experience? the disadvantages?

2. The Rule of Governors

Nominating conventions clearly prefer to choose their Presidential candidates from among the state governors. There are a number of reasons why governors are favored over members of Congress in particular. First, it is usually the governor who controls the state delegation to the nominating convention. Second, senators and representatives have to take a stand on the national and international issues of the day. Governors do not. For this reason, they can attract people of differing opinions to their cause.

3. The Rule of Big Swing States

A candidate has a better chance to be nominated if he comes from a state that has a large electoral vote and that does not have a one-party voting record. The idea is that state pride in a native-son candidate will win him many votes that he might not ordinarily get, and with it a large bloc of electoral votes.

Each state has as many electoral votes as it has senators and representatives in Congress. Although each state has two senators, the number of its representatives varies with population. Thus, California had 40 electoral votes in 1968, while Nevada had only three.

4. The Rule of Northern Monopoly

Ever since the Civil War, candidates from the big Northern states have won over Southerners, no matter how big their states. One reason for this situation is that neither party has wanted to alienate the Negro voters in the North who have anti-Southern feelings. Another reason is that, until recently, the South has been solidly Democratic. Therefore, it seemed a wasted effort for the Republicans to nominate someone from the area, and it wasn't necessary for the Democrats to do so.

5. The Rule of Multiple Interests

Conventions will choose only candidates who have, or appear to have, the support of many economic interests in the nation. No single economic interest in the United States is large enough to form a majority by itself. It becomes a majority only through coalitions among sections of agriculture, labor, commerce, and industry. A candidate must be a person in whom many interests can see their point of view reflected.

► If you were a businessman, how would you feel if a labor union leader became President of the United States? Why?

6. The Rule of Happy Family Life

Since a President is not only the head of government but the head of state, Presidential candidates must appear to lead ideal home and family lives. The candidates must seem to be model husbands and fathers, even if they are not in real life.

7. The Rule of the Small Town

Although most Americans live in great urban centers, conventions prefer to nominate candidates who come from small towns. Part of the prejudice against big-city candidates seems to have been connected with the native American prejudice against the waves of immigrants who settled in the cities. As the urban immigrants become second-and-third generation Americans, the small-town rule may become less important.

Northern Ireland, predominantly Protestant, is part of Great Britain. The Republic of Ireland in the south is mainly Catholic. It won its independence from British rule in 1920.

8. The Rule of English Stock

Candidates who have English ancestors are preferred. Some 85 million Americans are descended from people who came from the British Isles, not including Southern Ireland. Up to 1960, thirty-three men held the Presidency. Twenty-eight of them traced their ancestors back to Great Britain, again excluding Southern Ireland.

See Article 6, Clause 3 of the Constitution.

9. The Rule of Protestantism

The Constitution rules out a religious test as a qualification for holding any office or public trust in the United States. Yet the facts are that nominating conventions have raised an extra-Constitutional religious test by showing a definite preference for Protestants.

Of course, if many or all of these nine rules were strictly applied at the same time, it would be almost impossible for anyone to receive a Presidential nomination. Actually, the rules are never strictly enforced all at once every time. Some may even be ignored altogether. In a specific election they will be rearranged in emphasis. It all depends on the material a party has to work with, the challenge posed by the other party, the amount of tension in a particular election year, and so on.

FOR THOUGHT:

Would you automatically vote against a black woman labor leader from a large Southern city if a party nominated her for President? Why or why not?



To what values does this campaign material appeal?

27 GETTING ELECTED: THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties play a key role in the American political system. Among other things, they recruit and train political leaders and persuade voters to support them. Yet the term

“political party” does not appear in the Constitution. The men who wrote the Constitution did not want or expect parties to develop. They believed that parties would divide the country. They thought that voters should choose candidates on the basis of their abilities and experience.

Practical politics, however, soon led to the growth of parties. In the 1790's, two groups began to form, one around Thomas Jefferson and the other around Alexander Hamilton. Their members soon began to work in Congress as if they belonged to different parties. By the 1830's, parties nominated candidates, had national leaders, and organized campaigns to support their candidates. Today's Democratic party developed in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Republican party grew up just before the Civil War during the battle over slavery.

From time to time third parties have appeared—usually when a group of voters thought that neither major party stood for what they believed. These third parties have all faded away sooner or later. Sometimes one of the two major parties adopted the stands which caused third parties to arise. The failure of third parties to win a permanent place in American politics suggests that, in this country, the two-party system works in a satisfactory way.

Reading 27 describes the functions of political parties in the United States. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What are the major functions of political parties in the United States?
2. Could one party or three parties perform these functions as well as two parties can? Why or why not?

The American Party System

The central purpose of the political party is to gain political power in order to control the decision-making machinery of the government. To achieve this goal, the party sets up and operates a complex machinery to win political offices, formulates policy for public debate, works for or against legislation, and provides a forum where citizens can debate issues.

To fill a political office, the party must first recruit the candidate, then nominate him, and finally campaign to win his election. Party officials select candidates from their membership.

When a party lacks qualified candidates, it actively recruits them. In 1952, for example, the Republican party drafted General Dwight D. Eisenhower as its standard bearer.

Following the nominations, the party campaigns for its candidates. It raises money and recruits volunteers to help with the job. The task of reaching all the voters in a national or state campaign is difficult and expensive. A political party can collect funds from its supporters that would not be available to an individual candidate. The party also can recruit speakers, organize other volunteer workers to address mail, and persuade people to register and vote.

In addition to providing people for elective political offices, the party keeps lists of candidates for appointed offices. While most government jobs are filled through competitive civil service examinations, some appointed offices are given as rewards for faithful party service.

Political parties have additional functions. For example, they often suggest new policies to government officials. Other groups, such as labor unions, veterans' organizations, and business and civic groups, also propose ideas to the general public and to legislators. Political parties, however, are ideally suited to convert ideas into specific policies in areas such as foreign aid, the attitude of government towards education, and the relationship of legislation to civil rights. Party leaders try to agree on a common bill that most people in the party will support. Once the issue becomes party policy, all candidates and party members are supposed to support it. In this way, a number of policies reach the attention of government officials.

Parties not only formulate policy for public debate, but they also organize to get policy statements passed into legislation. When a party wins an election, its supporters expect it to fulfill its pledges. Although no one knows which portion of the platform received the greatest support from the voters, the winning party normally assumes that its victory was a vote of approval for the entire party platform.

There is still another function of political parties in American society. The minority party acts as the opposition. For example, when the Democratic party has control of the Presidency and the Congress, the Republican party maintains a steady barrage of criticisms. When the out-party criticises constructively, it can help the party in power to make more thoughtful decisions.

Political parties also are important as educational agencies. In a democratic society, citizens must be kept informed of the issues if they are to fulfill their roles as responsible voters. By laying the issues before the voters for discussion, debate, and

► If you were a congressman and your party adopted a policy that you thought was wrong, do you think you should vote for it anyway? Why or why not?

A party platform includes policy statements and promises of new laws and programs.



The activities pictured here take place during typical political campaigns. Which ones could you do now? Which ones might you be able to do in the future?





decision, American political parties create interest in public affairs and attempt to enlighten the voter.

In all these ways, political parties act to gain and maintain support for American political leaders. Many people vigorously object to the way political parties are run. They claim that parties do not represent real choices to the voters because they are so much alike. They criticize the failure of the parties to emphasize issues more than personalities, or the general hoopla which goes on at a political convention. But critics have been unable to suggest another institution to replace political parties. The functions they perform are vital to political life in a democracy.

FOR THOUGHT:

If we did not have political parties, how would the jobs they now perform get done?

28 GETTING ELECTED: THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS

Reading 27 described the primary functions of political parties: gaining and maintaining support for political leaders. While political parties play a big role, they are by no means the only group interested in getting candidates elected.

Americans belong to organizations other than political parties. For example, a typical American male citizen may be a member of the Baptist Church, the American Legion, the Lions Club, the Plumbers Union, and the Democratic party. As a member of each of these groups, he will share the interests of other group members.

Normally an interest group chooses to operate within the existing major parties. It tries to secure the nomination of candidates favorable to its point of view and to defeat those candidates who oppose legislation which the group favors. Once each party has announced its nominations, the interest group decides which of the two candidates it will give its support to and work for.

Thus, in their attempts to gain and maintain support, American political leaders find that they must secure the support of their party and attempt to satisfy the demands of many interest groups as well. The Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Legion, the American Medical Association, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the AFL-CIO are just a few of the many groups who are vitally interested in supporting candidates favorable to their point of view.

The reading that follows describes how one of the most active interest groups operates. As you read, think about these questions:

1. How are the functions of an interest group different from those of a political party?
2. How would an American political leader go about securing the support of such a group as the CIO-PAC?
3. What evidence can you find in the wording of this reading to indicate the author's approval or disapproval of the CIO?

The CIO-PAC

... The PAC (Political Action Committee) was established by the CIO as one of its committees on July 7, 1943, with Sidney Hillman, then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as its chairman.

The simplest way to describe how the PAC operates is to picture an imaginary congressional district. This district is in an industrial area. It has many labor voters who care about the kind of representation they have in Congress. They have a well-organized PAC, and they are active in politics.

John Smith is a young lawyer who has held a few political offices. He believes that he could represent the people of the district better than the incumbent, and he has filed as a candidate for Congress. But he knows that his chances of winning depend, to a large extent, on the backing he can get from organized labor. Therefore, Smith calls up one of his friends who is a local union official and tells him that he would like the active support of the PAC. His friend gives him the name of the chairman of the local PAC, and Smith and the chairman make a date to talk things over.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed in 1886 as a confederation of independent craft unions. Its members were mostly skilled workers. In 1935 a split occurred. Several AFL leaders wished to organize semiskilled and unskilled workers in the mass production industries. They broke away to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In 1955, the two groups merged, forming the AFL-CIO. Its membership in 1970 was almost 16 million.

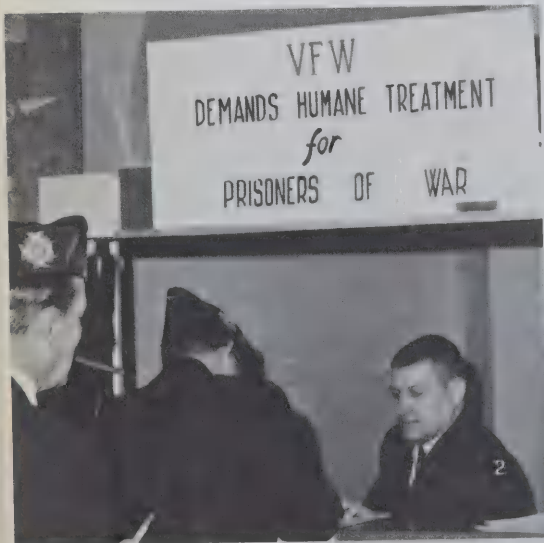
Jack Kroll, "The CIO-PAC," *The House of Labor*, J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice Neufeld, eds. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951).

Voters who live in a congressional district elect one representative to the United States Congress.

The holder of an office is an incumbent.

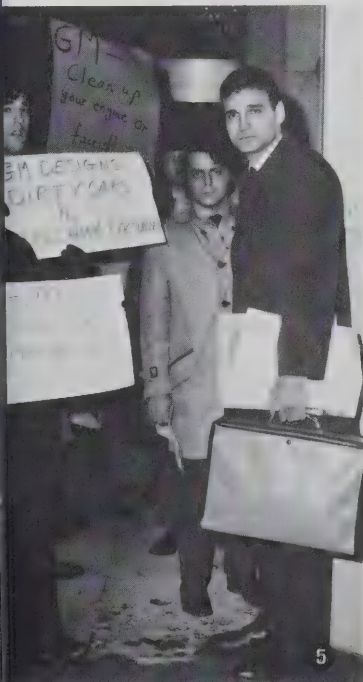


Each of the pictures on these two pages shows an interest group. What policies would you expect each of these interest groups to support?





4



5



6

When John Smith and the PAC chairman get together, Smith finds that there are four or five other people present. They are the Screening Committee. It is their job to make the preliminary decision as to whether Smith deserves labor support.

Smith and the Screening Committee talk the whole matter over. They discuss Smith's views on current political questions. They may also discuss the question of finances and other support that Smith has, the record he has made in the public offices he has held, and his prospects of winning.

At the next meeting of the PAC the Screening Committee makes its report. The members of the committee believe that John Smith should be endorsed. The PAC agrees with the recommendation and votes an endorsement. It then proceeds to back up its action. It checks the membership files of all unions within the area to see if all the members and their relatives are registered to vote. If they are not, machinery is set in motion to get them registered.

One of the most important jobs is that of educating the union membership and others in the community on the issues. For example, housing may be an important problem in the community. John Smith supports federal housing legislation while the incumbent does not. The PAC will get all the information it can about housing and about the proposed legislation. Then it will print and distribute literature on the question. It may make speakers available who can discuss the subject. It may purchase radio and TV time for a discussion of the issue.

The ward and precinct workers will discuss the issue with their neighbors. They will try to find out how their neighbors feel about public housing, what their neighbors think about John Smith, what his strong points are, and what his weak points are. They will report their findings to a central campaign committee so that the committee can estimate how the campaign is going. Even more important, the committee can make up a fairly accurate list of people who will vote for Smith and who will vote for his opponent. On election day, the committee will concentrate on getting the Smith voters to the polls.

All these activities cost money. The area PAC may raise some in a local fund drive. It may also receive money from the state PAC and from CIO-PAC.

The big push comes on election day. Car pools carry people to the polls. Mothers are furnished with baby sitters while they go to vote. At the polls themselves, the PAC provides watchers and challengers. After the polls close, someone stays to make sure that the votes in the ballot boxes are the only ones counted.

Federal housing programs provide government funds for public housing construction.

For election purposes a city is divided into wards. Divisions of wards are precincts.

► To what degree should a democratic society encourage interest groups to raise money for a candidate, since he might then feel obliged to support policies which those groups support?

Poll watchers see that voting machines and ballots are in order. They protect the right of free, secret balloting. They report interference to the police. Challengers see that only registered voters cast ballots and that election rules are obeyed.

The objective of all this activity is to make certain that every eligible voter who registered during the registration drive follows through and votes. . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

Do interest groups help or hinder our democratic system? Why do you think as you do?

29 HOW A BLACK WOMAN GOT TO CONGRESS: THE CASE OF SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

A study of the American Senate in the years after World War II divided senators into four types: patrician politicians, amateur politicians, professional politicians, and agitators. In the study, seven percent of the senators were listed as patricians. They came from wealthy "old families" and had made notable political achievements before going to the Senate. Thirty-four percent were amateur politicians—largely successful businessmen, lawyers, and professors. Usually these people came from middle class backgrounds and entered politics as a second career after they were forty years old. Fifty-five percent, the majority of the Senate, were professional politicians. These men had spent most of their lives in politics, but lacked the old family ties and the wealth of the patricians. Four percent were agitators. Most agitators were lawyers of lower social class backgrounds with little political experience. They had managed to jump to the Senate from some minor political office, usually stressing a personal characteristic or a single important issue in their campaign.

Today, although the percentages may be different, senators still fall into the four categories. These four types of people can also be found in the House of Representatives, in different proportions. As in the Senate, the professional politicians make up the most numerous group in the House. These men and women

have spent most of their adult lives in politics. Many of them have worked their way up through local and state offices where they have won a good reputation in the party and built up a following among the voters. Although some representatives later become senators or governors, most never advance to a higher political office.

Reading 29 describes a unique member of the House, Representative Shirley Chisholm. She is the only black woman to win a seat in the United States Congress. Independent as she is, Mrs. Chisholm has many of the characteristics of the professional politicians who dominate the House and Senate. As you read about her, think about these questions:

1. What sort of person is Shirley Chisholm? What adjectives describe her?
2. How did Mrs. Chisholm gain the support of voters? of the Democratic party? What does she do to keep her support?

Ebony, February 1969, pp. 58-59, © 1969 by Ebony Magazine.

Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn Is First Black Woman on Capitol Hill

No matter what else it does, the 91st Congress already has made history. It admitted its first black woman—Brooklyn-born, 44-year-old Mrs. Shirley Chisholm. She represents the predominantly black and Puerto Rican 12th Congressional District which takes in most of Bedford-Stuyvesant. Her congressional win culminates 20 years of political activity. Only in the last four years has she run for elective office. “The people came to me and asked me to run for the New York State Assembly,” she says. “They wanted someone they could trust. Though my husband takes a dim view of politics, he never objected to my entering the political arena because he saw that the people wanted me.” She won that Assembly seat, becoming the first black woman from Brooklyn to be elected to the legislature. With her maiden speech, Mrs. Chisholm set a path of independence and unpredictability which is still her political trademark. In that speech she came out against her own county leader, Stanley Steingut, who was involved in a bitter struggle for the speakership of the Assembly. Steingut’s Brooklyn organization is generally conceded to be one of the most powerful

Bedford-Stuyvesant is a community of 450,000 residents in north-central Brooklyn, New York. Its 500-block area covers 6.5 square miles.

The Assembly is one house of the New York State legislature.



Addressing a political meeting, Shirley Chisholm makes a point.

political machines in the country. A Brooklyn Democrat who bucks (opposes) that machine had better have a whole lot going for him or he will quickly find himself in political oblivion.

Mrs. Chisholm had the overwhelming support of the people in her district. Though highly progressive in her political and social ideas, Mrs. Chisholm uses the well-worn method of traditional politics when dealing with her constituents. She is always available to them, speaking at high school graduations, attending teas, bingo games, church socials and any other affair in her district. She speaks Spanish, which helps her to communicate with the sizable Puerto Rican population in her area. Walking down the streets, she has a handshake for everyone who recognizes her, which means most of the people she meets. "I have lived here nearly all my life," she says. "Some of the voters knew me when I was a child. That's why they trust me. I know their problems. Many of my friends moved out of this neighborhood once they thought they had made it, but we decided to stay because the roots where you were reared, where you were educated, the associations you have made, the fights you have led, are not easy to give up."

In the Assembly, Mrs. Chisholm worked hard for her district. She sponsored and had passed a bill for a state SEEK program, designed to help qualified black and Puerto Rican students with college potential but no high school diplomas enter city colleges. She also introduced and (helped) pass legislation establishing

► Would you vote for a congressman who did not live in your congressional district? Why or why not?

SEEK stands for Search for Elevation, Education, and Knowledge.

publicly supported day-care centers and unemployment insurance for domestic workers.

Despite this fruitful Assembly record, Mrs. Chisholm originally had no plans to run for Congress. "I was undecided about running," she explains, "but a black welfare mother came to my house and told me that she and her friends wanted me to run. She gave me a dirty envelope containing \$9.62 in nickels, dimes, and quarters that they had raised and promised that if I ran they would sponsor fund-raising affairs every Friday night to help finance my campaign. This was my first campaign contribution. It was this kind of help that contributed to my upset victory in the primary. Their gesture moved me to tears."

In the primary she once again confronted the power of the Brooklyn Democratic organization and won, defeating State Senator William C. Thompson, also black. "I had to fight to win the primary," she says, "but once I beat Senator Thompson and the machine, I knew I could take on anyone." Despite a serious operation in early July, she was out of bed three weeks later and campaigning in the streets against former CORE National Chairman James Farmer, who was running on the Republican-Liberal ticket. "The white liberal bosses tried to impose Mr. Farmer (also black) on this community. I don't think they fully realized my strength in the district," she says. Her husband, Conrad disagrees. "They must have known that Farmer didn't have a chance. We know for certain that they took a survey of 1,900 voters in the district before he entered the election campaign and 1,600 of those people voted for my wife. That should have been ample warning."

Mrs. Chisholm defeated Farmer by 3-1 margin in his first try for national elective office. "Mr. Farmer and I agreed on practically everything," she says. "But the main issue was that the people considered him a carpetbagger. Since he lived in Manhattan, it would have made more sense for him to run in Harlem."

The petite (5'4", 101-pound) political veteran was born Shirley St. Hill. Her mother, a seamstress, came from Barbados and her father, a laborer in a burlap bag factory, hailed from British Guiana (now "Guyana"). At age 11 she and her two sisters were sent to Barbados to live with six cousins, an aunt, uncle, and her maternal grandmother. Her parents remained in Bedford-Stuyvesant "to save some money for our education. They didn't know we would be smart enough to get scholarships."

Before her election to the Assembly, she was a nursery school teacher, the director of a day-care center, and an educational consultant for the New York Department of Social Services.

CORE stands for the Congress of Racial Equality.

A carpetbagger is a nonresident who meddles in politics.

Barbados is an island in the Caribbean Sea. British Guiana is in northeastern South America.

Asked what committee assignments she would prefer in the new Congress, Mrs. Chisholm carefully replied: "As a freshman I don't have much of a say, but I would love to get on three committees in particular. One is the Education and Labor Committee. I am an educator by profession and feel that I would bring a lot of know-how and expertise to that assignment. This is an especially important committee for black people. I'd also like to get on the Postal and Civil Service Committee. There needs to be a great deal done in that area in respect to black people in this country. On that committee I could find out more about the rules and regulations and promotional policies, because I have never been able to understand how so many of our black people who have been in civil service for what seems like time immemorial have not progressed further along the line. Finally, I would like to get on the Foreign Relations Committee because I am very interested and concerned about Africa. I happen to feel that the future of black people in America is linked to the future of Africa. . . ."

Each senator serves on two committees. Each representative has one committee post. A committee considers problems in a particular field, such as taxes, agriculture, or labor.

► Should your congressman champion local causes or concentrate on national issues?

FOR THOUGHT:

Do you think Mrs. Chisholm will be a good political leader for the people of her district? Would she be a good judge? A good political executive?

30 GAINING AND MAINTAINING SUPPORT: THE CASE OF WALTER HICKEL

More than two million people work for the executive branch of the United States government. Only a few of them work in Washington, D.C. Most work in offices in cities across the nation. Bureaucrats vary widely in training, skills, and duties. Only a small proportion of them head major agencies or bureaus where they have important decision-making power. This small group of leaders are government executives. Each of them has the support of a special group of followers.

Reading 46 will analyze the ways in which government executives and other bureaucrats make political decisions. Reading 30 focuses on the diverse groups of "followers" of federal executives and the pressures they exert.

A United States senator represents the people from his state. These voters are his major following. Sooner or later, unless he pleases them, he will lose an election. A senator can oppose the President and still keep his job so long as the majority of voters in his state vote for him.

Government executives are in a different position. The President or a high-ranking government executive appoints them. He can fire them at any time or give them unimportant jobs with no power. For this reason, they must please the people who appointed them.

Many government executives must also please a group of followers. They must enlist the loyalty and support of bureaucrats who work for them if they expect to run their agencies efficiently. They must please congressmen who allot money for their agencies and have influence with the President. They must also please the leaders of interest groups. The AFL-CIO is a follower of the Secretary of Labor. Farm organizations keep tabs on the Secretary of Agriculture, and businessmen watch the activities of the Secretary of Commerce. American voters are also followers of important federal executives and may voice their approval or disapproval through elected officials. Thus, to stay in power, appointed federal executives must avoid offending their bosses, their followers, and the voters.

Reading 30 has two parts. The first gives three tables showing the age, education, and occupations of 150 leading government executives studied during the 1960's. The second discusses the short career of Walter Hickel as Secretary of the Interior under President Richard M. Nixon. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What is the average age, educational level, and typical occupation of the 150 executives analyzed in Tables 30A-30C? What talents do these characteristics imply?
2. Which group of followers was Secretary Hickel trying hardest to please?
3. What did Mr. Hickel do which caused President Nixon to fire him? What does this incident reveal about the personal characteristics of successful government executives? Does your answer to the previous question depend on the characteristics of the President?

**°TABLE 30A AGES AT APPOINTMENT OR ELECTION OF
FEDERAL POLITICAL EXECUTIVES COMPARED WITH ME-
DIAN AGES OF HIGHER CIVIL SERVANTS, REPRESENTATIVES,
AND SENATORS**

Category	Median Age
Federal political executives	48
Higher civil servants	49
Representatives	51
Senators	57

*Excerpted from Table 2.5, David Stanley et al., *Men Who Govern* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), p. 28.

**°TABLE 30B PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF FEDERAL POLIT-
ICAL EXECUTIVES BEFORE APPOINTMENTS**

Occupation	Percentage
Business	24
Law	26
Education	7
Science or engineering	2
Other private	6
Total private	65
Public service elective	4
Appointive federal	22
Appointive nonfederal	9
Total government	35

*Excerpted from Table 3.1, David Stanley et al., *Men Who Govern* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), p. 34.

°TABLE 30C EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF RECENT FEDERAL POLITICAL EXECUTIVES, COMPARED WITH OTHER GROUPS

Group	Educational Level		
	No College	Some College, No Degree	College Degree
U.S. adult white population, over age 25	83%	9%	8%
Federal political executives	2	5	93
Big business executives	9	16	74
Top federal civil servants	4	13	83
Random sample, Who's Who	6	12	83
U.S. Senators	4	13	83
U.S. Representatives	7	14	79

Percentages may not add to 100% because of rounding.

*Excerpted from Table 2.2, David Stanley et al., *Men Who Govern* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), p. 18.

Time, December 7, 1970,
pp. 21-22, © Time, Inc.
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Firing a Fighter

In 1968, President Nixon appointed Walter Hickel, former Governor of Alaska, to his Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. Hickel had campaigned for Nixon's election in 1968.

As head of the Interior Department, Hickel was in charge of conserving the nation's natural resources. Conservationists opposed Hickel's appointment because he had been friendly to the interests of oil companies. But Secretary Hickel quickly

became a defender of natural resources. He ordered oil companies to stop drilling in the ocean off California when an oil leak spoiled several beaches. He started a government law suit against a Louisiana oil company for inadequate safety precautions. He delayed granting a license for an oil pipeline across Alaska because he was worried about pollution. Nixon fired Hickel and his key assistants in May 1970.

. . . Nixon left it to Press Secretary Ron Ziegler to report his reasons (for firing Hickel): "The President feels that the required elements for a good and continued relationship—which must exist between a President and his Cabinet members—simply do not exist in this case. . . ."

Hickel's trouble with Nixon, the issue that led to his firing, had to do with politics, personality, and style. Hickel's manner is pure Alaska—up front, assertive, raw. As a governor, he was used to command, and the role of Nixon's subaltern (subordinate) did not suit him. Whatever his initial political stereotype (image), Hickel shattered it last May 6 when, in the aftermath of the Kent State shootings . . . he wrote to Nixon—having failed to gain a private hearing—to criticize the President for alienating himself from the young. No one has admitted leaking the message to the press, but it was doubtless a mistake, striking Nixon from behind at a moment when he was troubled and vulnerable.

Abruptly, the letter made Hickel a sort of Establishment saint to many students and a pariah (outcast) at the White House. Nixon did not object to the criticism, but to the fact that it was leaked to the press even before it arrived in the Oval office. Says one White House aide: "The President thought it was an effort to embarrass him personally, and he never got over it. He never trusted the man after that."

An Arrow from the Chief

Right from the start, Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel was a minor embarrassment to the Nixon administration. He was a scrappy, bumptious Alaskan whose views on conservation were originally so suspect among environmentalists that the Senate held up his confirmation to the Cabinet for two symbolic days. In the 22 months since then, Hickel converted most of his ecological critics into outspoken fans, but he never did stop embarrassing the President one way or another. Late

Ohio National Guardsmen shot and killed four Kent State students and injured twelve at an antiwar demonstration, May 4, 1970. No charge was brought against the Guard.

► In what situations, if any, should you refrain from publicly criticizing colleagues?

The Oval Room is the President's White House office.

Newsweek, December 7, 1970, p. 20, copyright Newsweek, Inc., 1970.

A bumptious person is cocky, and he is outspoken in his arrogance.

► How do you feel about people who make jokes about you or place you in an embarrassing situation?

one afternoon last week, Hickel was summoned to the White House on a moment's notice and, in Hickel's word, was "terminated"—the first of Mr. Nixon's Cabinet officers to leave the administration. . . .

"Hickel did everything anyone can do to deserve being fired," said one highly placed White House aide—and it is true enough that probably no President since Franklin Roosevelt would have tolerated Hickel's alarums (alarms) and diversions even this long. Since last May, when aides leaked his letter to Mr. Nixon implying that the administration might "set out consciously to alienate" young people, Hickel has been an alien himself in the administration's higher councils, and he did not smooth matters over by sniping at (Vice-President) Spiro Agnew's campaign methods this fall. Even worse from the administration's point of view, was Hickel's method of running the Interior Department—singly, outspokenly and off-the-hatband, making policy without consulting with Mr. Nixon's domestic advisers, criticizing administration decisions, surrounding himself with his own "Alaska Mafia," and failing to subordinate himself to the ideal of team spirit that pervades (runs through) the President's theory of governance (governing)."

Agnew made headlines with strong speeches aimed at critics of the administration. Many admired his pluck. Others felt he helped further to divide the country.

FOR THOUGHT:

Should an appointed government official who opposes major policies of the administration resign or stay on the job to fight for what he believes?

31 THE POWER ELITE ON A LOCAL LEVEL

Chapter 7 has listed five types of decision-makers within the formal government or a political party. They are elected officials, government executives, party organizers, bureaucrats, and judges. Reading 31 will introduce a type of decision-maker who holds office in neither the government nor a political party.

Except for primitive bands, every society has social classes. American society may serve as an example. People have more prestige if they work at jobs that require skill and training, such

as the law or medicine. People who hold similar jobs, have similar education, and make about the same amount of money often share similar goals and ways of life. They see each other socially, live in the same parts of town, and marry within their group. Social scientists call such a group a social class.

Like other complex societies, the United States has several social classes. A person's attitudes, occupation, education, and income help to reveal what class he is in. Past societies have used different yardsticks to measure social class and influence. In medieval Europe, the leaders of the Church and the nobles who inherited their positions ranked at the top of the social scale. In American society, people with great wealth often rank at the top.

Sometimes upper class groups have a great deal of political power. Social scientists call such a group a "power elite." Many scholars do not think that power elites operate on the national or state level in the United States. On those levels, different groups exercise power at different times. No one small group makes key decisions all, or even most, of the time. But power elites can influence local affairs.

The idea of a power elite suggests that many important political decisions are made outside the formal government by people who have no official position in the political system, but who can persuade officials to go along with them. Sometimes a power elite can decide who will get nominated for an important political office. When this happens, that official may look favorably on policies which the elite supports. Wealthy members of the elite can also influence politicians by contributing to their political campaigns.

Reading 31 examines a power elite on the local level. The author tried to find out how the elite in an American city of half a million people operated. While he studied a real city, he gave it a fictional name, Regional City. He interviewed forty of Regional City's top leaders. More than half the people who were considered most influential were businessmen. The rest of the top group included professional men, government officials, civic and social leaders, and a smaller group of labor leaders. An interview with one leader appears on pages 156-157. The names in it are fictitious. As you read the interview, think about the following questions:

1. What sort of decision was involved in the case? Why was the power elite of the city interested in it?

2. Could a power elite have equal influence in all local political decisions? Could it, for example, defeat a proposal to increase taxes for a new school building?
3. How did the six men who started the movement for an International Trade Council get support?

Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

The Power Elite in Regional City

. . . James Treat (owner of the Southern Yarn Mill, a sizable industrial establishment) . . . was asked to give an example of how the local power structure operated in getting a community project underway. . . . “If a major project . . . were up for consideration in Regional City, how would the . . . (community leaders) act in relation to each other in the matter? Who would contact which others? Would the community associations be drawn in on the project, and so forth?”

Mr. Treat answered the last question first. He said: “We would not go to the ‘associations,’ as you call them—that is, not right away. A lot of those associations, if you mean by associations the Chamber of Commerce or the Community Council, sit around and discuss ‘goals’ and ‘ideas.’ I don’t know what a lot of those things mean. I’ll be frank with you, I do not get onto a lot of those committees. A lot of the others in town do, but I don’t. In a way, I guess I pretty much follow the lead of one man in this town—the lead of Charles Homer. Let me give you an example.

“Charles Homer is the biggest man in our crowd. He gets an idea. When he gets an idea, others will get the idea. Don’t ask me how he gets the idea or where. He may be in bed. He may think of it at breakfast. He may read a letter on the subject. But recently he got the idea that Regional City should be the national headquarters for an International Trade Council. He called in some of us (the inner crowd) and he talked briefly about his idea. He did not talk much. We do not engage in loose talk about the ‘ideas’ of the situation and all that other stuff. We get right down to the problem, that is, how to get this Council. We all think it is a good idea right around the circle. There are six of us in the meeting.

► Why does “the crowd” readily adopt the idea of an informal leader?

"All of us are assigned tasks to carry out. Moster is to draw up the papers of incorporation. He is the lawyer. I have a group of friends that I will carry along. Everyone else has a group of friends he will do the same with. These fellows are what you might call followers.

"We decide we need to raise \$65,000 to put this thing over. We could raise the amount within our own crowd, but eventually this thing is going to be a community proposition, so we decide to bring the other crowds in on the deal. We decide to have a meeting at the Grandview Club with select members of other crowds.

"When we meet at the Club at dinner with the other crowds, Mr. Homer makes a brief talk; again, he does not need to talk long. He ends his talk by saying he believes in his proposition enough that he is willing to put \$10,000 of his own money into it for the first year. He sits down. You can see some of the other crowds getting their heads together, and the Growers Bank crowd, not to be outdone, offers a like amount plus a guarantee that they will go along with the project for three years. Others throw in \$5000 to \$10,000, until—I'd say within thirty or forty minutes—we have pledges of the money we need. In three hours the whole thing is settled, including the time for eating!"

Mr. Treat paused for a moment, then continued: "There is one detail I left out, and it is an important one. We went into that meeting with a board of directors picked. The constitution was all written, and the man who was to head the council as executive was named—a fellow by the name of Lonny Dewberry, a third-string man, a fellow who will take advice."

The investigator asked how the public was apprised (notified) of the action. Mr. Treat said: "The public doesn't know anything about the project until it reaches the stage I've been talking about. After the matter is financially sound, then we go to the newspapers and say there is a proposal for consideration. Of course, it is not news to a lot of people by then, but the Chamber committees and other civic organizations are brought in on the idea. They all think it's a good idea. They help to get the Council located and established. That's about all there is to it."

► Under what circumstances, if any, would you choose a "third-stringer" to head an organization?

FOR THOUGHT:

Does the existence of a power elite pose a serious threat to democratic ways of doing things?

32 CHANGING LEADERS IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The way in which the citizen takes part in choosing his political leaders provides one measure of how democratic the system under which he lives actually is. The way in which positions of leadership pass from one individual or one group of individuals to another provides a second measure. Reading 32 is concerned with how this second measure operates in the American political system.

The Constitution provides that when a member of the United States House of Representatives vacates his seat, the state governor must call a special election to fill that vacancy. In the case of a vacancy in the United States Senate, the governor is required to call a special election, unless the state legislature gives him the power to make a temporary appointment until the next regular election.

When the office of the President is unexpectedly vacated, the Vice-President, an elected official, becomes President. This transfer of leadership leaves the office of the Vice-President vacant. Therefore, to make certain that the country is not left without a Vice-President, the Twenty-fifth Amendment empowers the new President to nominate a person to fill that office. Congress must then confirm the nomination by a majority vote of both houses.

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. A shocked and grief-stricken nation listened to the news of his death. A short while later came the news that Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson had been sworn in and had assumed the Presidency.

Reading 32 describes how the transfer of Presidential power took place. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What are the constitutional provisions for transferring the powers of the President to the Vice-President upon the death of the President?
2. What procedures were followed in transferring these powers from President Kennedy to President Johnson? How smooth was the transfer?

The Day Kennedy Died

In one sudden, swift, awful convulsion of history . . . the majesty and the burdens of the Presidency of the United States shifted from one man to another.

In a shattering moment, at once random and calculated, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was cut down in his forty-seventh year by an assassin's bullet in Dallas, Texas. . . .

Reflexively, without stopping to think, the President's Secret Service driver started the car and roared off toward Parkland Memorial Hospital, three and a quarter miles away. . . . The seventy-seven-block dash to the emergency entrance of the tan, thirteen-story hospital took nine minutes . . .

Newsmen clustered in a nurses' classroom to wait for official word. At 1:33 P.M., the assistant White House press secretary . . . read: "President John F. Kennedy died at approximately 1 P.M., Central Standard Time, today here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain."

The President was dead.

. . . What counted most now was the continuity of government, the constitutional rite reuniting the abruptly broken past with the uncertain future.

The Constitution dictated that the . . . Presidency pass to the Vice-President, to the towering, folksy, politically wise Texan who seemed so unlikely a running mate for Mr. Kennedy in 1960.

. . . Lyndon Baines Johnson—under heavy guard—sped unannounced back to Love Field, climbed aboard Air Force One, and stepped into the 12- by 15-foot Presidential conference room. The federal judge who would swear him in—his old friend Sarah T. Hughes, a tiny woman of sixty-seven—had been summoned. Waiting for Mrs. Kennedy, Johnson whispered gravely for a moment with some Texas congressional friends. He spotted Mr. Kennedy's secretary, Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, and kissed her hand.

At 2:18 P.M., the hearse drew up, and the coffin was carried up the rear ramp, Mrs. Kennedy . . . close behind. The gold-upholstered conference room was already crowded and sweltering after three hours in the hot Dallas sun. Larry O'Brien, Mr. Kennedy's legislative liaison man, handed Mr. Johnson the small leather-bound Bible the former President had kept in his aft rear sleeping compartment. Lady Bird Johnson took a place at his right elbow, Mrs. Kennedy at his left.

Her words barely audible above the whine of the fan-jet engines, Judge Hughes read the oath:

Condensed from *Newsweek*,
December 2, 1963, pp. 20–26,
copyright Newsweek, Inc.,
1963.

Kennedy died on November
22, 1963. Police jailed
suspect Lee Harvey Oswald.
Two days later, Jack Ruby,
a Dallas bar owner,
murdered Oswald. Ruby got
a death sentence. While
appealing, he died of blood
clots in the lung.

See the Constitution,
Article 2, Section 1,
Clause 6.

Lady Bird Johnson, Lyndon's wife, became First Lady.

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Softly, the new President repeated the words, adding at the close: "So help me God." He turned to Lady Bird—her eyes brimming—and kissed her on the forehead. Mrs. Johnson took Mrs. Kennedy's hand in turn and told her, "The whole nation mourns your husband." . . .

At 2:41 P.M., Mr. Johnson made his last good-bys and gave his first order as President: "Now let's get airborne." As the jet roared aloft and headed home to Washington at 635 miles per hour, he set to work composing a statement:

"This is a sad time . . . We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed. For me it is a deep personal tragedy. I know the world shares the sorrow that Mrs. Kennedy and her family bear. I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help—and God's."

At the White House, Mr. Kennedy's national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, took charge. A plane carrying Secretary of State Dean Rusk and five other Cabinet members to Japan was called back via Honolulu to Washington for a meeting Saturday morning. Staffers laid out pads and pencils around the White House Cabinet table and moved Mr. Johnson's chair around to the President's spot.

The order was changing.

At 6:00 P.M. that bewildering night—a bare four hours after John Kennedy died—Air Force One touched down at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington. The floodlights were doused in the pale glow of a quarter-moon, the plane taxied like a gray ghost to the landing apron. A catering truck, mounted on top with a hydraulic lift platform, rumbled to the back door. The President's brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, bounded aboard. An all-service bodyguard carried the bronze casket onto the lift, to be taken first to Bethesda Naval Hospital for embalming and finally . . . home to the White House.

Coatless and bareheaded, Mr. Johnson stepped out, his wife beside him. Soberly, government officials surged forward to shake hands and wish him well. He paused long enough to read the statement, invoking the help of his countrymen and his God. Then the Johnsons boarded an Army helicopter with Bundy, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, Undersecretary of State George Ball, and a few staff men.

A crowd watched the helicopter disappear into the dark and started scattering, each alone with a sense of loss . . .

Robert F. Kennedy died June 6, 1968. The former Attorney General and New York Senator was 42 years old. A young Arab immigrant murdered him in Los Angeles during his Presidential primary campaign. The assassin remains in jail.

... Perhaps better prepared by experience than any previous Vice-President succeeding to the top job, Mr. Johnson took charge in remarkably brisk order.

The President was still talking defense with McNamara, Bundy, and Ball as he alighted on the White House lawn. On the spot, he asked Bundy to stay on. Then, instead of turning off at the carefully prepared Cabinet Room, he strode through the West Wing, across Executive Avenue to his own second-floor office in the Executive Office Building.

First, he called former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower to discuss funeral plans. The congressional leaders of both parties—summoned by White House staffers—straggled in. Gravely, Mr. Johnson told them he wanted their “united support.” With equal gravity, they pledged themselves behind him.

Next came Mr. Johnson’s own staff for a quick conference. Afterward, he checked by phone with FBI director J. Edgar Hoover about the hunt for the assassin. At 3:24 A.M., the new President headed home. . . .

On a busy first morning in office, Lyndon Johnson paused to issue a proclamation declaring Monday a day of national mourning. He made his last silent good-bys to Mr. Kennedy. He and Mrs. Johnson spent twenty minutes upstairs at the White House with Mrs. Kennedy. Otherwise, he spent a long day breaking into the world’s most difficult job.

Checking in at the White House just after 9, he talked with Robert Kennedy over a coffee table across the Oval office from the empty Presidential desk. Bundy took him from there to the situation room for a briefing by CIA director John McCone. Then came conferences with Rusk, McNamara, and—once again—the legislative leaders.

He discussed world trouble spots with General Eisenhower over lunch in his old Vice-Presidential office across the street; later he spent a half-hour with Harry Truman. He made . . . phone calls to the AFL-CIO’s George Meany and American Telephone and Telegraph’s Frederick Kappel. Always he spoke of the need for unity. . . .

At 2:30 P.M., he called together the late President’s Cabinet for a brief, to-the-point twenty-five-minute meeting. “I need your help in the time ahead,” Mr. Johnson said. Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon responded first, then Adlai Stevenson. They pledged the support of the full Cabinet; all were “prepared to serve as long as the President wanted them to serve.”

On Wednesday, Mr. Johnson planned to address a joint session of Congress.

► Under what circumstances should one be able to conduct “business as usual” in the midst of tragedy?

At a briefing, a person receives a condensed version of information or advice.

Adlai E. Stevenson was United States Ambassador to the United Nations under Kennedy and Johnson. He lost two bids for the Presidency, in 1952 and 1956. He died July 14, 1965, at the age of 65.



John F. Kennedy's grave draws many visitors.

Citizens line up at Lenin's tomb in Moscow.

Why do citizens of both the United States and the Soviet Union visit the graves or tombs of famous leaders?



And so, in a moment of high tragedy, the link between the past and the future of the nation—this “old but youthful union,” Mr. Kennedy had called it—was forged anew. The loss was momentous. Americans everywhere—those who liked John F. Kennedy and those who despised him—felt the void, and it hurt.

But the fabric was preserved . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

The assassination of President Kennedy could have led to a political crisis. What does the fact that it did not reveal about the philosophy underlying the Constitution and the American political system?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 7

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 7A: Interview with an elected government official (individual or group)

Tape record an interview with a locally elected official to find out how he got into politics and how he moved up the political ladder to his present position. Construct a Study Guide to accompany your interview to be used by other students in future classes.

Activity 7B: Classifying campaign activities (individual or group)

Arrange the pictures found in Reading 6 in the **Book of Readings** into groups according to the types of campaign activities they illustrate. Use the Study Guide accompanying this activity to list your categories and to explain your reasons for classifying the pictures as you did.

Activity 7C: Essay comparing two American political leaders (individual)

Reading 7 in the **Book of Readings** describes some personal characteristics of two American politicians—Richard Daley and Edmund Ross. After you have read these two selections, write an essay comparing and evaluating the leadership qualities of the two men.

Activity 7D: Survey of the characteristics of school leaders (group)

Design a survey to identify the backgrounds and important personal characteristics of your student council members or class officers. After gathering and organizing your data, write a report explaining your conclusions about the kinds of students who have become decision-makers in your school.

Political Decision-Makers in the Soviet Union

STATING THE ISSUE

CHAPTER

8

Chapter 7 identified five types of political decision-makers in the United States. They were elected officials, government executives, party organizers, judges, and bureaucrats. It also discussed the power elite outside the formal political system who make important political decisions in local politics.

The history of the Soviet Union, its political culture, and its political institutions have all helped to shape its decision-makers. Whether a Soviet politician is a leader or a political decision-maker who does not lead depends mainly on his position in the Communist Party rather than his job in the formal government. Most important party members lead and have followers in the Party, in the government, and among private citizens. Moreover, they lead in areas of life, such as economics, in which American politicians have much less influence than Soviet leaders. Within the formal government, most of these political leaders hold positions as elected officials or government executives. In a way, all of them are party organizers. They form a small power elite on a national level.

Decision-makers who are not important party members do not lead. They hold positions in the formal government as elected leaders, government executives, bureaucrats, judges, and party organizers. Many of them belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where, in theory, they can influence leaders in the Party through an institution called democratic centralism. In reality, however, they have little or no real opportunity to lead or to have significant influence on important decisions.

Chapter 8 analyzes political decision-makers in the Soviet Union and contrasts them with Americans occupying similar positions in the United States. In particular, the chapter focuses upon the manner in which political decision-makers carry out their duties and their responsibilities within an authoritarian political structure.

33 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA

To understand political decision-makers in the Soviet Union, we must know something about the men who led Russia under the tsars. Without such knowledge, we may judge Soviet politicians only by American standards. We should view Soviet leadership in the light of traditions and institutions of tsarist Russia. No society ever rejects its past completely. Political cultures do not change overnight with a change of rulers. Many Soviet political practices and much of what the Soviet Union is trying to do at the present time grew directly out of the experiences of the Russian past.

Reading 14 described Russia under the tsars. The nation changed rapidly, particularly late in the nineteenth century. Industries began to grow during the 1890's. Literary and artistic life had blossomed throughout the nineteenth century. A large number of political reform groups and revolutionaries strove to change the government. In 1906, partly as a result of Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, a parliament called the Duma with limited powers met for the first time in centuries. But despite all these changes, Russia remained the most autocratic of Europe's nations when World War I broke out in 1914.

Reading 33 describes Russian political leaders under the tsars, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. What was the ideology behind the tsarist government? How might people who accepted this ideology think of a new leader such as Lenin or Stalin?
2. What sorts of people became political decision-makers in tsarist Russia? How did they look upon their political roles?

The Tsar and His Officials

Russia in 1917 still had an autocratic government. This term means that the tsar could pass any new laws which he wished to pass and could break laws when he chose to do so. Even the limited constitution established in 1906 did little to curb his power. Article 4 of that constitution said: "The Emperor of all the Russians wields the supreme autocratic power. To obey his authority not only from fear but from conscience is ordered by God Himself." The constitution claimed that the tsar was God's representative on earth. Each Russian was supposed to obey him as each Christian was supposed to obey the word of God.

The tsar's eldest son did not automatically inherit the throne. Peter the Great in 1722 decreed that the tsar should appoint his successor. This practice left the order of succession in doubt. Plots and power struggles occurred whenever a ruler died before naming his replacement. Generally, however, the tsar's eldest son or a close relative took command.

Russian government played a major role in many areas of the nation's life. Most Russian peasants were bound to the land as serfs. Until 1861, the government owned almost half of the land and controlled 16 million serfs. The government also controlled the Church and the schools, and with a few exceptions it censored the press strictly. It established its own industries to make products such as guns, and it supervised privately owned industries very closely. Government extending into all areas of the nation's life was an old story in Russia. Lenin did not invent it.

Russia had diverse nationalities, languages, ethnic groups, and religions. No one person could rule such a diverse land. An army of bureaucrats and petty officials ran day-to-day affairs. They carried the wishes of the tsar into every city, village, and peasant hut. Millions of Russians never saw the tsar in person. They did see his officials and bureaucrats, however. Occasionally they also saw the secret police or the soldiers who backed the tsar's wishes with armed force. Modern Soviet citizens also see an army of bureaucrats. Until recently, millions of them felt the wrath of both the secret police and the army sent to enforce Stalin's wishes, as Reading 24 indicated.

Russian governmental officials under the tsar can be divided into two kinds, higher officials and lower officials. The higher officials usually came from the nobility. Some of them owned large estates worked by serfs. Out of this small group—perhaps

one or two percent of the population—came the top-level decision-makers. They assisted the tsar as ministers of finance, war, education, commerce, and agriculture.

The tsarist government did not develop governmental specialists, although many were needed. The tsar gave civilian jobs to military men. He even put lawyers in charge of the Orthodox Church. Members of the royal family got important jobs no matter how they were trained. When the tsar needed a specialist who could not be recruited from the nobility, he often hired scholars from universities in Russia or abroad.

Men who held jobs as lower level officials came from among the poor landowners, merchants, or village priests. Their jobs mainly required clerical duties and had little decision-making power. No one worked out a regular way to recruit or train these clerks. Many learned on the job. One authority called them “an underpaid, demoralized lot, open to corruption and the worst kind of graft. Possessing neither education nor ambition, they were utterly incapable of giving useful advice to their superiors. At best they could apply blindly the orders handed down from St. Petersburg.” When the Soviet regime took over in 1917, the Russian people expected very little of the new crop of bureaucrats who replaced the old.

A wide gulf separated higher and lower officials. They came from different social classes and had different educations and life styles. There was no easy way to advance from a low position to a high one. As a result, lower officials suffered from bad morale. Higher officials had contempt for them. Angry and poorly trained bureaucrats who disliked and envied higher government officials often sabotaged government policy.

For centuries the Russian people had been accustomed to government from the top. They looked to the tsar to solve their problems. They became used to the idea that someone in authority would make key political decisions and appoint officials to carry them out. The citizen was a subject, not a participant. Movements for a parliament and a constitution were run by a few educated people. The peasants put their faith in the goodness of the tsar.

The authoritarian government of the tsars gave way to an even more authoritarian government by the Bolsheviks in 1917. The Bolsheviks adopted the forms of democracy. But they extended the controls of the central government over the individual to a greater degree than the tsars had done. Under the Communists, however, a new group of political decision-makers took command. After a brief period when new men were being

► As a bureaucrat, how well would you carry out an order given to you by someone you disliked?



The royal family

What do the pictures on these two pages and on the next page reveal about the view that Tsar Nicholas II had of himself and his role in Russian society?



Nicholas II and his wife, Alexandra

The royal palace of Peterhof





The Tsar with President Poincaré of France

The Coronation of Nicholas II



A court ball



The Tsar reviewing his troops



trained, the regime swept the old officialdom out of government. The Communists even killed the tsar, his family, and many of his officials. They then faced the task of filling a greatly expanded government with hundreds of thousands of decision-makers. The remainder of Chapter 8 analyzes what they did.

FOR THOUGHT:

If you had led a successful revolution against the tsarist regime, what sorts of people would you recruit as leaders? why these kinds?

34 BECOMING A LEADER: THE PARTY

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has three types of members. Rank and file members earn their living at non-party jobs. They are, for example, workers or farmers or teachers. Full-time party workers earn their salaries from the Party. They have greater influence than the rank and file and greater chances of promotion to jobs with real power. Top-level party members are the political elite. They make political decisions for the entire society. Reading 35 will analyze their backgrounds and characteristics.

The ideal member of the C.P.S.U. has three characteristics: competence, loyalty, and obedience. He must be competent at something: engineering, operating a lathe, dancing, farming, writing, administering. His competence sets an example for others within Soviet society and gains for him membership in the Party and the privileges which go with membership. He must also be loyal to the Party, and obedient, that is willing to do whatever his party superiors order. Without these three qualities, no one is likely to become a political decision-maker in the Soviet Union.

The Party recruits most of its members. Three members who have belonged to the Party for at least three years must sponsor a candidate for membership. They must have known the candidate for at least one year. The Party holds sponsors responsible for the members they recommend. The candidate remains on probation for one year or even longer if there is any doubt about him. Then he becomes a full member.

Party members work hard. They must educate themselves constantly. They must learn all they can about the party's ideology, current events, and party policies. Many members study at party schools. All of them are expected to keep up through party meetings and the media. In addition, the Party expects its members to be activists and model citizens. A party member may work in election campaigns, supervise youth groups, lead discussions in factories, and visit collective farms. He must live a model moral life and be law abiding. As his party status rises, he may receive more criticism for his shortcomings than a non-member would receive. Party membership is the only road to a political decision-making position. Many of the most able Soviet people choose it.

A small group of the most active and talented party members eventually become members of the elite. The elite itself has three levels. The five thousand delegates to a Party Congress make up the lowest of these three levels. Above them are about 200 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At the peak are the members of the party's Politburo, the inner circle of power. Admission to this inner circle takes years of devoted party work, skill, and good fortune.

The article which follows traces changes in the leadership of the Communist Party. The Soviet Union has needed different types of leaders at different times. The article also contrasts Soviet leaders and Soviet conditions with those of the United States. As you read, think about these questions:

1. What must a nation do to become modernized? In what ways was the process of modernization different in the Soviet Union and the United States?
2. What is a pluralistic political system? A monistic system?
3. How has the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union changed over fifty years? How have these changes been related to modernization?

Party Leadership in a Changing Soviet Society

Since 1917, the Soviet Union has changed from an underdeveloped to a modern society. Modernization involves three major processes: the growth of a unified national state,

industrialization, and the rise of a new adaptable culture with people who possess the skills necessary to run an industrialized, urbanized, and complex society. The Soviet Union became a modern state sometime during the 1950's. Until then it had struggled with the problems that modernization brings.

The United States went through the process of nation-building over several centuries. During the colonial period, the people gradually began to feel a common sense of national loyalty. This feeling became stronger during the American Revolution. It took institutional form under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. But within the new nation, economic, religious, and social groups remained independent of government control. During the nineteenth century, more and more citizens began to participate in the democratic process. In the twentieth century, the government began to pay more attention to the economic welfare of its citizens. Out of these changes over several centuries, a common American nationality and sense of loyalty to the nation emerged.

After 1917, leaders of the Soviet Union tried to compress similar changes into a few years. They tried to build a unified nation out of hundreds of nationalities and language groups. They tried to get people to participate in national life through voting and taking part in organizations sponsored by the Party. They tried to redistribute goods so that all could have a satisfactory diet and adequate clothing and shelter. To do so, they eliminated private industries. They pressured people to vote in elections. And they killed or sent to forced labor camps millions of men and women who opposed their goals. Even with the use of force and terror, however, they were unable to pack into fifty years the number and degree of changes which had taken several centuries in the United States.

The Western world began to industrialize in the eighteenth century. Since then nations have followed one of two paths to industrialization. The United States provides an example of one of these paths. In the United States, private individuals rather than the government built factories, railroads, banks, and stores. The government often helped these private individuals, but it did not plan economic growth from a central government bureau.

The Soviet Union provides an example of the second path to industrialization. There the government planned industrial expansion. Before the 1917 revolution, the Russian government played a vital role in economic life. After the revolution, the Communists increased government's role in the economy. A

Reading 17 traces these developments in the United States.

► What should a government do if some citizens refuse to cooperate with its policies?

► When can too much power in private hands be harmful? When can too much public power do harm?

series of five-year plans, begun in 1928, directed economic development. The economy grew rapidly, although changes in agriculture came more slowly than those in industry.

Political leadership in the United States and the Soviet Union reflects the histories of the two nations, the ways in which the societies are organized, and the speed with which changes have been made. In the United States, public leaders share power with private citizens. Political leaders run the government but not the industries. Leaders in society or the arts often have little influence in politics. Religious leaders hold their positions privately apart from political and economic life. Newspaper editors under private control check on public officials and criticize government policy. This pattern developed in western pluralistic societies where many semi-independent centers of power, both public and private, exist side by side.

In the Soviet Union all power is public power and all leaders are public figures. All important leaders belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The heads of industries are party members. Important artists, dancers, generals, managers, and professors all hold party cards. The Party controls all newspapers and books. Only religious leaders are left out because all members of the CPSU must be atheists. But since the church has little power in the Soviet Union, religious leaders cannot challenge the control of the Party.

Scholars use the term monistic to describe societies which appear unified by one force or principle and are ruled as a whole, with no independent parts. A pluralistic society contains many diverse elements representing different points of view and a variety of life styles. In a pluralistic society, these groups operate independently, without control by a central authority. The Soviet Union is monistic, while the United States is pluralistic. Pluralism and modern democracy fit together. Monism fits well with modern authoritarian political systems. In the Soviet Union, a few hundred members of the political elite control the Communist Party and monopolize political power.

Since 1917, the characteristics of the Soviet political elite have changed. During most of the 1920's, under Lenin and in the early years under Stalin, most of the elite were "old Bolsheviks." These men had taken part in the 1917 revolution. Many of them were intellectuals, often born of middle-class parents. They were expert persuaders in a land where people had to be persuaded to support a new government and to think of themselves as members of a new state. These men carried the

Soviet revolution through its first step. Out of their work emerged a new nation.

Starting with the five-year plans in 1928 and continuing through the end of the Stalin era in the 1950's, a new political elite came forward. Josef Stalin tried to increase the pace of industrialization. He forced peasants to join collective and state farms. He used tax money to build new mills and factories. When some of the old Bolsheviks began to oppose him, he purged them from the Party. Under Stalin, the old Bolshevik leadership gave way to younger trained bureaucrats who were obedient and loyal to Stalin and who were good administrators.

A new type of leader is replacing the party official of the Stalinist era. George Fischer, Professor of Sociology at Richmond College, Staten Island, New York, analyzed the backgrounds of 306 top executives in Soviet government—two women and 304 men. All hold important positions in the Communist Party. On the basis of the information the scholar collected he defined four major types of modern Soviet leaders.

Sixteen percent of Soviet leaders are "dual executives." These leaders are party executives who have worked both as industrial leaders and party officials.

The second type of leader is a "technician." Twenty-nine percent of the top Soviet executives are technicians, with experience in industry but little history of party activity.

"Hybrid executives" are the third type of Soviet leader. Eleven percent of Soviet executives belong to this category. They are party executives with technical training but no experience in industry.

The fourth type of leader, "officials," make up forty-five percent. These party executives have neither technical training nor experience in industry.

The proportion of dual executives in Soviet politics has increased during the last twenty years, while the proportion of officials has declined. This trend fits the needs of a modern monistic society. Under Stalin, officials had power. Loyal party men, they took orders and carried them out. They made the Party supreme in Soviet society. But today, in a monistic society where the government has power in all areas of life, political leaders must have expertise in all fields. Producing more goods and services in industry and agriculture is a top priority in the Soviet Union today. To promote economic growth, the Party has recruited specialists. Leaders in engineering, agriculture, and management have become the new political leaders.

See George Fischer, *The Soviet System and Modern Society* (New York: Atherton Press, 1968), copyright © by Atherton Press. Reprinted by permission of Aldine. Atherton, Inc.

The Boston Globe

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Telephone (617) 452-6000 12 Pages 18¢



New data revealed
from defense files

Ban still on Times,
Washington Post

Secret Pentagon documents bare JFK role in Vietnam war

• Globe discloses more of study

• Kennedy OK'd covert action

By Matthew J. Smith
Globe Staff

Highly sensitive documents in the Pentagon's vaults have been disclosed to the public.

The documents are part of a study by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency, which was completed in 1963.

According to the documents, the study was made available to the public.

By Robert H. Smith
Globe Staff

John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, was involved in the Vietnam war in a way that was not widely known until now.

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The illustrations on these two pages show activity in a pluralistic society. How can you tell from each illustration that the society is pluralistic?



Alexander in The Philadelphia Bulletin
"No rest for the weary."

SUGAR BILL STIRS INDUSTRY PROTEST

Administration Seeks to Cut
Taxpayer Costs by Change
in Quota Arrangement

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 22—

The Administration and the
sugar industry are locked in a
controversy over new sugar
legislation.

3



Of the four types of modern Soviet leaders, dual executives best fit the requirements of competence and loyalty. After them come technicians and hybrid executives. These three groups, especially dual executives, may dominate party leadership in the future. Through the Party, they will lead Soviet society.

FOR THOUGHT:

Will the characteristics of newer Soviet leaders make them easier for Western leaders to deal with than older officials have been?

35 THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SOVIET POLITICAL EXECUTIVES

The political elite of the Soviet Union is made up of top executives who hold high-ranking, full-time jobs in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These men do the jobs that elected decision-makers, appointed government executives, and private citizens do in the United States. They have far more power to make independent decisions than even the most influential members of the power elite have in some American towns and cities. They are the leaders of the Soviet Union's monistic society.

As Reading 34 indicated, Professor George Fischer divided top Soviet executives into four groups: dual executives, technicians, hybrid executives, and officials. In the tables which follow, however, all four groups have been studied together. Study questions accompany each table.

Fischer, Table 3.2, p. 68.

TABLE 35A CLASS ORIGINS OF SOVIET EXECUTIVES

	% of people in this class in the Russian population in 1913	% of Soviet executives, 1958-1962, whose parents were in this class in 1913
Worker	10	35
Peasant	67	57
White collar	23	8

1. A Soviet executive who was 45 years old in 1958 was born in 1913. Most Soviet executives studied by Fischer were older than 45. They were born in imperial Russia before 1913. From which social classes do most present Soviet executives come?
2. Which of the 1913 social classes are "overrepresented" among present Soviet executives? Which are "underrepresented"?

Fischer, Table 3.9, p. 75.

TABLE 35B ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET EXECUTIVES

For this table, Professor Fischer divided the Soviet population into three groups depending on what proportion of the people were city dwellers and what the general educational level was. The Russian Federated Republic, containing 53 percent of the Soviet population, ranks highest by both measures and is treated alone. Fischer found five other republics economically more developed, and the remaining nine republics economically less developed. The economically more developed people had a larger city population and a larger proportion of educated citizens. Of all Soviet government executives studied, 49 percent were Russian, 23 percent came from the more economically developed republics, and 28 percent from the economically less developed republics.

Fischer then divided the percent of executives in each of the three groups by the percent of the nationality grouping in the total population of the U.S.S.R. Therefore, if the proportion of Russian executives to all executives equaled the proportion of Russian people to the total population of the U.S.S.R. the figure in the table below would be 1. A figure under 1 means that a group is underrepresented. A figure over 1 means that it is overrepresented.

	All Top Posts	Only Top Posts on the U.S.S.R. Level		Top Posts Below the U.S.S.R. Level	
Nationality Grouping	Entire Sample	Year		Year	
		1958	1962	1958	1962
Russian	0.89	1.53	1.67	0.82	0.82
More Developed	1.05	0.36	0.18	1.18	1.13
Less Developed	1.30	0.38	0.19	1.38	1.43

1. What group(s)—the Russian, More Developed, or Less Developed—is(are) overrepresented in the entire group of executives? Which group(s) dominate(s) positions on the national (U.S.S.R.) level?
2. Which group holds the most power—that is, key positions in which they can make decisions for the entire nation?

TABLE 35C THE EDUCATION OF SOVIET EXECUTIVES

Level of Education	Field of College Education						Total Sample
	No College Education	Engineering	Agronomy	Pedagogy	Social Sciences	Misc. or Unknown	
No education beyond secondary school	30%	—	—	—	—	—	12%
College only	—	89%	75%	52%	77%	71%	48%
College and Party School	—	11%	25%	48%	23%	29%	14%
Party School only	70%	—	—	—	—	—	26%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number	115	80	55	25	17	14	306

1. How well educated are Soviet executives?
2. Most important political decision-makers in the United States have been educated as lawyers. In the Soviet Union, most educated decision-makers have engineering and agricultural training. What might explain this difference?

TABLE 35D SOVIET EXECUTIVES WHO WORKED IN THE PARTY AND ALSO IN OTHER JOBS BEFORE COMING TO A TOP POSITION

Area of Specialized Work	Percent Who Also Did Organizational Work
Industry	74%
Farming	67%
Ideology	75%

1. Of the 306 executives studied, 68 worked only at party organization before coming to a top position in the Party. Of the remaining executives, what proportion combined work in a specialized area (competence) with organizational service to the Party (loyalty)?

Fischer, Table 6.1, p. 121.

TABLE 35E EXECUTIVES OF LEADING ORGANIZATIONS WHO BELONG TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Party	Secretary on U.S.S.R. Level	100%
	Head of Department on U.S.S.R. Level	67%
	Republic First Secretary	100%
	Province First Secretary	
	1. Russian Federation	96%
	2. Union Republics	39%
	3. Autonomous Republics in Russian Federation	69%
Government	U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers—Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Ministers	96%
	U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers—Chairman of Affiliated Committee and Commission	81%
	Republic Council of Ministers—Chairman	100%
Foreign Service	Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador to Communist countries, and to major countries in the West and the Third World	50%
Military	Minister and Deputy Ministers of Defense, Head of Service Branch, Commander of Military District	63%

1. To what degree do members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (described in Reading 35) dominate important political positions in the Soviet Union?

FOR THOUGHT:

How are political decision-makers in the United States and the Soviet Union alike? How do they differ?

36 BECOMING AN ELECTED OFFICIAL IN THE SUPREME SOVIET

Reading 22 described the organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Reading 23 described the formal government of the nation. These readings showed that the Party set up governmental institutions in such a way that party officials could keep firm control. Still, the elected officials in the formal government of the Soviet Union do play a role in the political process. The role is not the same as that which elected officials play in the United States. The differences in roles help to make clear some of the important distinctions between a modern democracy and a modern authoritarian political system.

Elected soviets, or councils, operate at all levels of the Soviet political system. They exist in the federal union where the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities make up the two major houses of the legislature. Soviets can also be found in the fifteen union republics and the autonomous republics as well as in territories, provinces, districts, towns, and villages. Voters elect members of each soviet. National and republic elections take place every four years, and elections at other levels occur every two years. Since all elections do not take place at the same time, there is at least one election every year in the Soviet Union.

All citizens 18 years or older are eligible to hold office in local and provincial soviets. For membership in the Supreme Soviet of a union republic, the minimum age is 21. Members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must be at least 23. Each electoral district sends one deputy to a soviet on every level of government. For the Soviet of the Union, an electoral district is a geographic area with 300,000 population. It sends one deputy to the Soviet of the Union. All elections are supervised by election commissions. The commissions are appointed by the local authorities and are under the supervision of the local branch of the Communist Party.

Article 141 of the Soviet constitution gives the right to nominate candidates "to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies." Groups of workers, farmers, and servicemen may also nominate candidates. Such groups are under the control of the Communist

Party. A person who does not belong to one of these groups may not nominate a candidate.

All nominations from all sources for a position such as Deputy to the Soviet of the Union go to a pre-election conference of representatives of various groups which have nominated candidates. At this conference, the delegates agree on one candidate for each office from that election district. The groups which have nominated others then withdraw their nominations voluntarily.

Each district registers these candidates with an Electoral Commission, whose secretary is almost always a Communist Party member. If a local commission refuses to register a candidate, appeals can be carried to higher commissions, which are dominated by party members or supporters. Because of this system no one can be a candidate for an elected office in a Soviet legislature without approval.

Election to a soviet is an honor paid to outstanding people who have been loyal to the regime. They come from all walks of life—laborers, farmers, housewives, scientists, generals. Their names are presented as members of the “electoral bloc of Communists and non-party people.” Whether candidates are party members is not indicated either on the ballot or on the lists of candidates published before an election. This procedure lets the Party argue that everyone, both inside and outside of the Party, supports a slate of candidates. It also gives the Party control over nominations.

As the two newspaper articles which follow make clear, citizens in the Soviet Union vote either for or against a candidate. In March 1969, over 2 million deputies won election to local soviets. Only 145 approved candidates failed to get a majority of the votes cast and were not elected. Almost 59 percent of the successful candidates had never been elected before, and more than half were non-party members.

In the 1966 elections to the Supreme Soviet, 46 percent of the deputies were listed as workers and peasants. The rest were considered members of the intelligentsia. Seventy-seven percent of those elected held decorations or honors from the Soviet government, indicating the degree to which membership comes as a reward for faithful service. Seventy-five percent were members and candidate members of the Communist Party. For more than 59 percent of the deputies, this was the first time they had ever attended a meeting of the Supreme Soviet.

Reading 51 describes a session of the Supreme Soviet. The article which follows as part of Reading 36 describes the election process. As you read, think about the following questions:

Most deputies do only routine work which requires no experience. American congressmen, however, become more effective as they gain experience with many terms in office.

1. What is the big step toward becoming a legislative decision-maker in the Soviet Union, getting nominated or getting elected?
2. What is the purpose of elections in the Soviet Union? in the United States?

The New York Times, June
12, 1966, p. 15.

Soviet Holding Election Today

The second floor of School 30 in Moscow's Sverdlov Borough was a brilliant splash of red banners, posters, and flowers this evening as workers of the twenty-sixth election precinct made preparations for tomorrow's balloting for a new Supreme Soviet. . . .

Officials were assembling voter registration lists and organizing the procedure for handing out ballots. Long felt-covered tables lined one side of the corridor where the voting will take place. On the other side were several booths, their entrances covered with fading red velvet curtains. Beyond the booths were two ballot boxes.

The activity in School 30 was similar to that under way throughout the country. At 6 A.M., the doors of the polling places will open and the first of the nation's 140 million registered voters will enter to receive their ballots bearing the names of uncontested candidates to the Supreme Soviet's two chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities.

Most voters drop the ballot directly into a box as a sign of affirmation (approval). A few use the curtained booths to examine the name of the candidate printed on the ballot before folding it or to cross it out as a sign of protest or to write a slogan or message on the ballot, which may thus be invalidated.

If more than 50% of the voters in an election district cross out a candidate's name, he becomes one of the country's few defeated political contenders. Such setbacks are virtually unheard of in elections to the Supreme Soviet, which is the nation's highest elective body. . . . In local elections voter dissatisfaction with a candidate has resulted in occasional rejections.

A total of 1,517 candidates are on the ballots this year [1966]. Of these, 767 are for the Soviet of the Union on the basis of one candidate for each election district of about 300,000 inhabitants. The others are candidates for the Soviet of Nationalities, repre-

► How would you like to vote in the Soviet way, without a private ballot?

To invalidate is to weaken or destroy the force of something. An invalidated vote is cancelled and does not count.

senting the fifteen union republics and their subordinate autonomous republics, autonomous regions and smaller nationality areas. . . .

Voting is a civic duty in the Soviet Union and all citizens over eighteen years of age and of sound mind are exhorted to register and cast their ballots. Campaign workers visit people on election day to make certain that they have voted. People on vacation will vote by absentee ballot. Polling places have been organized aboard long-distance trains and at railroad and airline terminals for travelers. A polling station has been set up even for a group of mountain climbers in the Caucasus.

Soviet writers describe election day as a national holiday and as an occasion demonstrating solidarity with the country's leadership. . . .

To be subordinate is to be under the authority of another. Autonomous means self-governing. Several states and regions govern themselves but are under Soviet control.

► Have you ever been pressured to vote? Did this affect the way you voted? How?

All Candidates Win in Soviet Election

The New York Times, June 15, 1966, p. 15.

The Central Election Commission reported tonight that all the candidates to the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet had been endorsed.

Deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities were supported by 99.8% of the voters, and deputies to the other chamber, the Soviet of the Union, by 99.76%. Of the country's 144 million registered voters, 99.94% went to the polling stations and cast their ballots, the commission reported.

Political nominees in the Soviet Union are unopposed on the ballot. However, the voters may strike out names of candidates in protest. The Election Commission said 345,643 voters marked their ballots against candidates to the Soviet of the Union, which has a total of 767 deputies. The 750 candidates in the Soviet of Nationalities met opposition from 289,298 voters.

FOR THOUGHT:

Reading 16 used the term participatory subject to describe political culture in the Soviet Union. What does the term mean to you now?



An Uzbek University student discusses a coming election with a group of collective farmers.

What do these pictures suggest about the functions of elections in the Soviet Union?

Election Poster: "We serve the people."





НОВЫМИ ПОБЕДАМИ ВСТРЕТИМ ВЫБОРЫ
В ВЕРХОВНЫЙ СОВЕТ СССР!

Election Poster: "Let us greet the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. with new victories."

A polling station in Moscow on election day. Signs around entrance urge citizens to vote.



37 CHANGING LEADERS IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

The President of the United States is the head of state. He has power to make many decisions which set American policy at home and abroad. His term of office lasts four years. If re-elected, he may serve an additional four years, making eight years in all. The Twenty-Second Amendment to the Constitution forbids him from running for a third term. If he dies in office, or is unable to complete his term for some other reason, the Vice-President succeeds him.

Lenin was the Soviet head of government between 1917 and 1923. His tenure in that office was not a specific term limited by law. Moreover, when he died, there were no guidelines about how his office would be filled. At the time, Josef Stalin was General Secretary of the Communist Party. There were no rules or traditions transferring Lenin's power to the General Secretary. But Stalin eliminated all opposition and became head of the Soviet state.

Stalin died in office in 1953. A struggle for power among several political leaders took place behind the scenes. Nikita Khrushchev, who was named First Secretary of the Communist Party, appeared to be in a strong position. However, he had a powerful rival in Lavrenti Beria, chief of the secret police under Stalin and a deputy premier. Khrushchev plotted with other members of the government and with political leaders to remove Beria from influence. On July 10, 1953, four months after Stalin's death, Beria was suddenly arrested. He was accused of treason. Later, he was brought to trial, found guilty, and shot to death. By 1958, Khrushchev had removed his last rival for power.

Khrushchev controlled the Communist Party and the Soviet government until 1964. Then he was suddenly removed from power. Reading 37 tells how it happened. As you read, think about these questions:

1. How was Khrushchev removed from power? Why was he removed?
2. Why does the constitution of the Soviet Union set up no orderly way of transferring political power from one political leader to another?

As Moscow Slept, a New Era Began

Newsweek, October 26, 1964,
p. 45–53. Copyright
Newsweek, Inc., 1964.
Adapted and abridged.

A heavy autumn mist hung low over Red Square. From time to time, a black government limousine, its rear window curtained off from public view, sped by. Giant crimson and gold banners decorated the brick walls of the Kremlin. They were there to welcome the three-man team of Russian cosmonauts that had circled the earth a few days earlier. Inside the Kremlin, Soviet President Anastas Mikoyan and visiting Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos were listening to a concert of Russian folk music.

It seemed to be a normal October night in Moscow—except for two unusual events. The regular evening edition of the government newspaper *Izvestia*, edited by Premier Khrushchev's son-in-law, had not yet appeared, though it generally goes on sale between 5 and 6 P.M. And, even more important, a huge, smiling portrait of Premier Khrushchev that was usually perched above the Moskva Hotel had disappeared. It had been hurriedly hauled down and carted away sometime before 10 P.M. At that moment, the era of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev came to an end.

At the central telegraph office, Western correspondents noticed that there, too, an eight-foot-high portrait of Khrushchev was gone. "When did it happen?" one newsman asked the blond Russian girl at the reception desk.

"During the night, when we were sleeping," she explained.

Over their radios and in their morning newspapers, Russians learned that Khrushchev had "resigned" because of poor health. His two responsibilities as party and state leader were now to be divided between his two chief lieutenants: Leonid I. Brezhnev and Aleksei N. Kosygin. Brezhnev, a party secretary, had taken over as First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee. Kosygin, First Deputy Premier, had moved up to become Premier.

The Soviet people reacted to this change calmly and with their usual caution. At a newspaper stand, a collective farmer quickly read *Pravda's* front-page announcements, then shook his head sadly and said: "That's right. Khrushchev is probably too old now." A bearded old man standing in line outside Lenin's tomb told *Newsweek's* Moscow bureau chief: "This is not our business. It's their business over in the Kremlin." The general

A kremlin is the walled center of many old Russian cities. The most famous is the Kremlin in Moscow, the seat of the present-day Russian government. It occupies a triangular section of the city, surrounded by walls built in the 15th century. Within the walls are many historic buildings, including several cathedrals and a number of palaces now used for meetings of the Supreme Soviet and other official business.

► It has been suggested that "old men" in the U.S. Congress voluntarily step down. Do you favor this suggestion? Why?

► To what degree does your experience shape what you expect to happen in the future?

The economic growth rate depends on how rapidly the total quantity of goods and services produced annually in the nation increases.

► Many people criticized Khrushchev for banging his shoe on the speaker's stand at the United Nations. Do you think world leaders should be punished for "unseemly" behavior?

attitude of everyone seemed to be: "We'll just have to wait and see."

The world reacted to the news with shock and disbelief. To most outside observers, Khrushchev's position as supreme leader of the Soviet Union had not appeared to be in any serious danger. Afterwards, to be sure, there were many theories to explain why he fell. It was known, for example, that for years he had carried on a running fight with the Soviet military to cut army appropriations in order to invest more heavily in the production of consumer goods. Then, too, Khrushchev failed to maintain a steady economic growth rate for the Soviet economy, which involved him in disaster after disaster. At one point, the Russians even had to go begging for wheat in the capitalist West.

Beyond all this, there was Khrushchev's explosive personality and peculiar ruling style. The peasant from Kalinovka was always unpredictable—thumping his shoe in the United Nations, threatening to "bury" capitalism in one breath and praising Western restraint in another. He was always spontaneous, sometimes reckless and daring. Time after time, he switched signals at home. In his dealings abroad, he seemed more stable. But even here, most notably in his heavy-handed treatment of China and Eastern Europe, Khrushchev had shown himself to be willfull and impetuous.

In the end, it was Khrushchev's character that proved to be his undoing. The first official word out of Moscow charged him with fostering a "cult" of his own personality. A long editorial in *Pravda* accused him of "harebrained scheming, . . . hasty decisions and actions divorced from reality, bragging and phrasemongering, . . . armchair methods."

Lately, Russian sources emphasized, Khrushchev's rule had grown increasingly autocratic and unpredictable. Against the better judgment of a number of his colleagues, he insisted on going ahead with his plans for a December meeting of world Communist parties. Despite opposition, he was determined to pay an official visit to West Germany, which alarmed both conservative Russian leaders and his East German allies.

At home, Khrushchev was showing little patience with opponents of his economic policies. He insisted on publishing a controversial speech stressing the need for a sharp increase in consumer goods. He also toured the country, hammering home the same theme to Communist Party workers and to the masses. He even threatened to thrash out the whole vital issue of economic priorities and government spending at the meeting of the Central Committee which was scheduled for next month.

Faced with Khrushchev's stubbornness and afraid that more domestic disasters and foreign setbacks were about to occur, the Presidium of the Central Committee—the Soviet Union's highest decision-making body—agreed to act quickly. Late last month, it ordered the Premier to take a rest at Pitsunda, his villa on the Black Sea. On October 1, Khrushchev headed south. His son-in-law joined him. Two other close aides were away from Moscow on independent missions. The way was clear for the plotters, who proceeded to round up support.

For twelve days Khrushchev rested at Pitsunda, playing badminton, swimming, seeing occasional guests, but conducting little official business. Then, on Tuesday, October 13, he was back in Moscow—reportedly to attend an eight-hour Presidium meeting. At that meeting Khrushchev, although he was permitted to defend himself, was unanimously voted out of his most important job as First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Once before, in 1957, Khrushchev had been voted out by the Presidium. But he was able to reverse that vote by calling together the full 330-man Central Committee, in which he had the support of the majority. This time, however, there was to be no reversal. The day after the Presidium meeting, the full Central Committee met. Again, Khrushchev tried briefly to defend him-



Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev inspects wheat at an agricultural school.



Premier Khrushchev and his shoe at the United Nations

self. But when half a dozen speakers rose to attack him, he finally admitted defeat and accepted the majority vote. Later, the pro-Khrushchev minority in the Central Committee agreed to make the decision unanimous. And the following day, the Presidium formally removed him as Premier and appointed Kosygin in his place.

FOR THOUGHT:

How does the system for transferring the power of the head of state in the United States differ from the process in the Soviet Union? What does this difference reveal about the distinction between a democratic political system and an authoritarian political system?

38 TWO SOVIET LEADERS: BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN

Reading 34 described the types of Soviet leaders who have been coming to power since the 1950's. They are dual executives, technicians, and hybrid executives. These men seem to be displacing the party officials without technical training or experience, who formerly dominated Soviet political life.

Social scientists have several methods of studying leaders. Reading 35 gave us a statistical analysis of Soviet leaders. Statistics can show the number and proportion of leaders from peasant families or the number trained as engineers. Data such as these help to identify general characteristics of a whole group of leaders or to point to trends in types of leaders.

Social scientists also study individual leaders. Reading 38 describes the two most important leaders of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin. Fischer included them in his study of 306 executives. Since they are the leaders of the Soviet government, their personal characteristics are important. As you read, think about these questions:

1. How well do the careers of Brezhnev and Kosygin fit the patterns described in Reading 35?
2. What are these two men like? What adjectives best describe them?

Two for One: After K, the Gray-Flannel Men Move In

Newsweek, October 26, 1964.
pp. 46-47. Copyright
Newsweek, Inc., 1964.
Adapted and abridged.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the new First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, is a ruggedly handsome, seemingly straight-forward man. Some of his Communist colleagues believe that he is too straightforward—a predictable man without mental resourcefulness. But most Western diplomats who know him disagree. He is, they say, a man of intelligence and authority who will make a popular and formidable leader.

Though he owes his present position to Khrushchev's help, Brezhnev is very different from his ex-boss. He is not as talkative as Khrushchev or as impulsive. A Westerner who has known him well says that he resembles an engineer in his outlook. "He analyzes problems like an engineer in a practical and precise way—not so much on guesswork but on facts." And unlike Khrushchev, he is a careful dresser with a fondness for Western suits, Italian neckties, and silk shirts. Sometimes he even manicures his nails, and occasionally he uses tonic on his graying, bushy hair.

On his frequent trips abroad, Brezhnev is tough, serious, and businesslike. But at home, he is a sociable, fun-loving man who likes to slap people on the back and speak off-the-cuff for as long as anyone will listen. In fact, Brezhnev has something of a reputation for high living. At the annual Kremlin ball on November 7, he is always among the first out on the dance floor. And at diplomatic receptions, he frequently takes his fair share of the drinks.

Brezhnev relaxes by hunting, swimming, and watching soccer. He also collects antique watches and is an enthusiastic amateur ornithologist. The softest spot in his heart, however, is for his daughter Galina. Often she accompanies her father on his foreign trips. Her ambition is to become an actress—a goal she is more likely to reach now than she was a week ago.

All this is a long way from Brezhnev's working-class background. He was born in the small town of Kamenskoe in the Ukraine in 1906, went to work in a steel mill when he was fifteen, and then developed an interest in farming. After attending agricultural school, he became an official of the Ural Provincial Land Board.

When Stalin set out to industrialize Russia, Brezhnev decided to move with the times. He returned to his home town and got a degree in metallurgical engineering. Then he began to rise

► Do you know someone who thinks "like an engineer"? Would you vote for him or her for Student Council president? team captain? chairman of the school dance committee?

► What, if anything, can you tell about a person by the way he dresses?

An ornithologist studies birds.



*Soviet leaders viewing the
May Day parade*

*Look at the pictures on this and the following
pages. What do these pictures reveal about
the view that Soviet leaders have of them-
selves and their roles in Soviet society?*

*Communist Party leader Brezhnev, Premier
Kosygin, and President Podgorny voting for
delegates to a party congress*



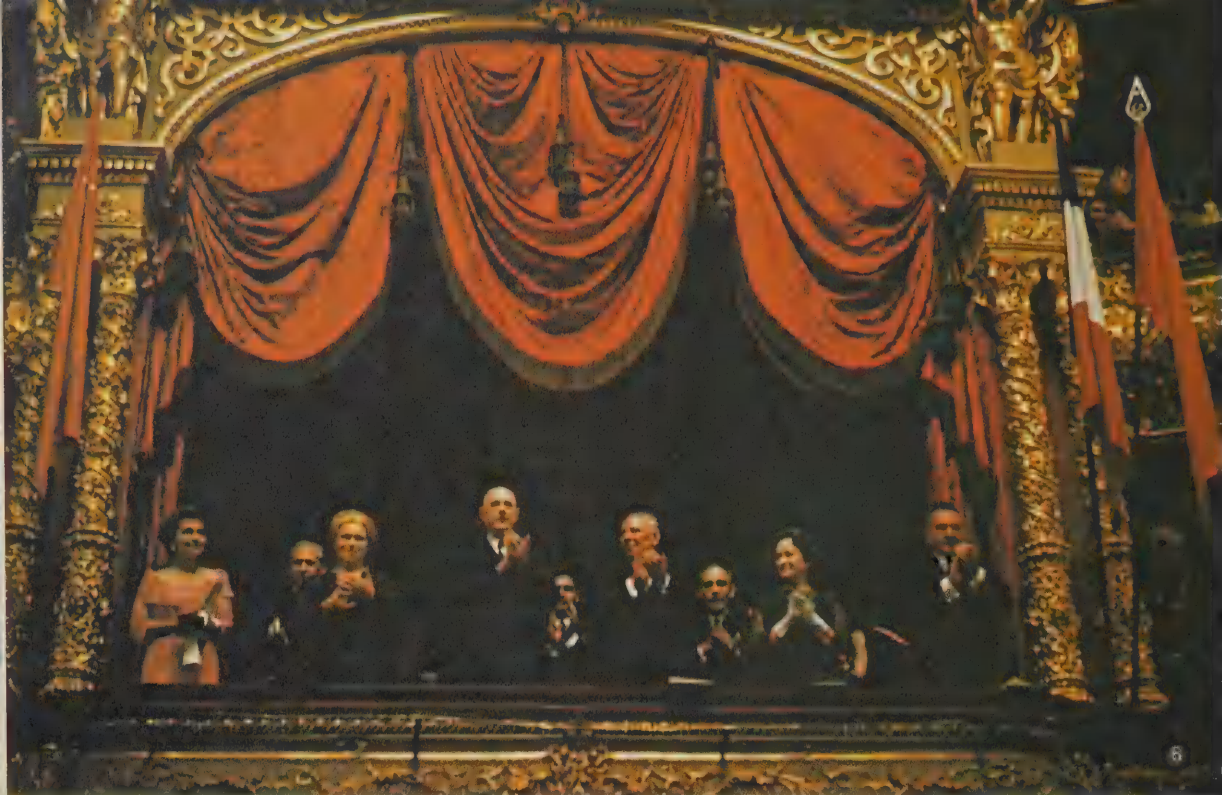
*Premier Kosygin at an international trade
exhibition in Moscow*



Premier Kosygin and German Chancellor Willy Brandt signing the Soviet-German non-aggression pact



Premier Kosygin and party leader Brezhnev with Pakistani leaders at a pigeon shoot



Soviet leaders at the opera

Lenin's house in Ulyanovsk, now the V.I. Lenin Museum



slowly in the Party. In 1938, he was named a member of the regional committee where his boss was Nikita Khrushchev.

From that moment on, Brezhnev's wagon was firmly tied to Khrushchev's star. During World War II, Lieutenant General Khrushchev kept Brezhnev at his side as a political commissar. After Khrushchev rose to supreme power, he chose Brezhnev to administer his controversial virgin lands scheme. Thanks to plenty of rain, Brezhnev was able temporarily to raise bumper crops from the virgin lands. After two years, he returned to Moscow in triumph. Khrushchev made him first a Communist Party secretary and, the next year, a member of the Presidium.

In 1957, the army grew restless over the firing of Marshal Georgi Zhukov, Russia's greatest World War II hero. Brezhnev, who was popular with the military, managed to calm down the generals. He was rewarded with appointment to the titular post of President of the U.S.S.R. and then with promotion to the rank of heir apparent to Khrushchev himself.

On the surface, Brezhnev is an easy-going, relaxed man. And in fact, he does represent a new breed of Soviet leader—the "gray-flannel Communist." He is truly the organization man. He is clearly too civilized to permit a return to Stalin's terror. But he was not too civilized to destroy the political career of Nikita Khrushchev. Undoubtedly, in the months to come he will continue to maneuver ruthlessly and with great skill in the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Soviet Union's new Premier, Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin, is quiet, shy, and colorless. He is the perfect example of the professional manager—a man who weighs his words, calculates costs, and is far more interested in doing his job than in political intrigues or flights of imagination. A U.S. businessman once reminded him of President Kennedy's proposal that the United States and the Soviet Union cooperate in getting to the moon. Kosygin earnestly replied: "Let's not waste time on that; let's concentrate on getting along together here on earth."

The sixty-year old Kosygin has impressed Westerners by his friendliness. But he is really a humorless, rather severe man whose only interest, outside of his wife and two children, appears to be his work. All his mature life, he has spent fourteen to sixteen hours a day in his office. Unlike many Russians, he does not eat or drink too much, and he keeps fit with skating and volleyball.

Kosygin's father was a lathe operator in Leningrad. When he was fifteen years old, Kosygin joined the Red Army and fought in the civil war. Later, he went to the Leningrad Textile Institute.

The political commissar tries to control public opinion.

Khrushchev planned to cultivate grain in the neglected but fertile lands of central Asia and western Siberia. Beginning in 1954, he sent equipment and thousands of workers to farm the virgin lands. Some years brought good crops, but some years brought drought and the ruin of the harvest.

A titular post carries a title and honors, but little responsibility.

The heir apparent is the person likely to become the next ruler.

► If defending your brother meant getting into serious trouble yourself, what would you do?

As a result of Stalin's purges, a whole generation of administrators was wiped out and Kosygin became mayor of Leningrad at the age of thirty-four. In that job, he attracted Stalin's attention. After that, the Soviet leader promoted him through a series of important economic posts.

In the late 1940's, Kosygin himself escaped being purged—reportedly because his meekness convinced Stalin that he was harmless. He was knocked off the party Presidium, but this did not harm his government career. He took on one top ministry after another—finance, light industry, consumer goods, then planning chief. In 1960, Nikita Khrushchev put him back on the Presidium and promoted him to First Deputy Premier.

Today, both his admirers and his critics argue that Kosygin's apparent meekness is deceptive. His critics claim that he is the complete product of the Stalin era who knows that only winners survive. They point out that in the 1930's he accepted the exile of his brother without a word of protest. More friendly commentators insist that he is, as the people of Moscow call him, a *solidny chelovek*—a solid man.

FOR THOUGHT:

Would Brezhnev or Kosygin make a good President of the United States? Why or why not?

39 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A PARTY BUREAUCRAT (PART 1)

A small group of top party leaders make the important political decisions in the Soviet Union. Ten members of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. removed Khrushchev from office. The Central Committee of the Communist Party ratified this decision. About 200 members with full voting power as well as a number of candidate members belong to this committee. The 5000 delegates to the Communist Party Congress in turn ratified the decision to oust Khrushchev. These three groups contain the most powerful people in the Soviet Union.

The daily work of running the Soviet government, however, lies in the hands of a much larger group of people. The C.P.S.U.,

which supervises the entire society, has many full-time paid employees. They work throughout the nation. They are in charge of a great variety of activities in a monist political system where all significant power rests in public, rather than private, hands. The characteristics of these paid party officials shows much about the way in which an authoritarian political system works.

In the early 1950's, Harvard University set up a project to analyze the social system of the Soviet Union. Members of the project read widely and interviewed hundreds of Soviet refugees to find out how the Soviet system worked. From the data gathered by the staff, Professor Raymond Bauer wrote nine sketches in an attempt to portray nine typical Soviet citizens. The sketches do not describe actual people. Each was based on the characteristics of a number of people described by the refugees who were being interviewed.

Reading 39 is part of Bauer's sketch of Antip Trofimovitch Teplov, referred to in the article below as Teplov. Reading 40 contains the second half of Bauer's sketch. Teplov is a typical party secretary at the district, or raion, level. As party secretary, he was responsible for all of the political, economic, and social affairs of his district. As you read, think about these questions:

1. What were Teplov's personal characteristics? Are they similar to or different from the characteristics of the party elite?
2. How was Teplov trained? How was he recruited for party work? Do his personal characteristics suit him for his job?

The Party Secretary

Teplov rubbed his eyes to keep awake. It was midnight and he wanted to go home to bed, but years of service in the party apparatus had taught him the necessity of careful paper work. He was preparing an agenda for the meeting of the executive committee of the raion [district] party committee in the morning, and this was no time to make mistakes. It was one of those periods in which any action could have the profoundest political ramifications [consequences]. Teplov was a technician first and a politician second, but in a time of crisis, politics inevitably saturated [filled] all of his life.

Stalin's picture still hanging on the wall symbolized the instability of Teplov's world, which would not be peaceful until another picture hung in its place. But whose picture would it

Raymond Bauer, *Nine Soviet Portraits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1955), pp. 60-74.

► Whose picture is in the office of the principal of your school? Why that one?

► Have you ever been in a situation where it seemed risky to take sides? What did you do?

Baltisk is located on the Baltic Sea in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

be? And when would it happen? It was risky to take sides, and it was risky not to take sides. . . .

Many times in the course of the day, he looked at the door of the office and his name in reverse through the glass, "A. T. Teplov, First Secretary, Baltisk Raion Committee" . . . It took very little effort to scrape a name off the door and replace it with another—no harder than changing Stalin's picture on the wall.

But worrying about such things was a luxury a busy man could not afford. The life of the raion was dependent on Teplov, and Teplov was dependent on the life of the raion. If the raion did not develop, flourish, and produce, he would have failed, and his career would be over. There was little he could do about the fight that was raging among the big shots, but his responsibilities to the raion were many and immediate. He returned to his desk and was working furiously when he heard a tap at his door. It was Shvartz, the third secretary, young, thin-faced, bookish-looking. . . .

"Well, Antip Trofimovitch," Shvartz said, "I see you're still working."

Teplov gestured silently, drawing his hands across the pile of work on his desk with a single sweeping motion. "How about you?" he asked.

Shvartz grimaced. "I had a class for the four new party candidates. I'm leading them patiently by the hand through the *Short History of the Communist Party*. A lazy bunch—I thought they'd go to sleep."

"Well, keep them at it," Teplov answered and returned to the work on his desk. . . .

"A funny chap, the old man," Shvartz mused [thought] as he left the building. "You'd think he'd be more interested in the job I'm doing. Political education is an important part of the party's work." . . .

Teplov was interested in political education, but not in the way that Shvartz was. Teplov wanted the party and Komsomol members in the raion to be sufficiently literate in the political classics and sufficiently up-to-date on the party line so that they would not commit embarrassing errors. And he wanted Shvartz to keep the general populace at a sufficient level of apparent enthusiasm so that there should be no unfavorable reports going into [Communist Party headquarters] about morale in the raion.

The Soviet state was built on deeds, not on words, but even a practical man had to have a proper respect for the role of persuasion. It took years of experience and a long process of ripening to appreciate the delicate balance to be maintained between persuasion and coercion . . .

But some young party workers never realized how this balance of coercion and persuasion worked. On Teplov's desk lay a note which read simply, "New partorg [party organizer] for shoe factory." If Shvartz tended slightly to overestimate the importance of words, the former partorg at the shoe factory had underestimated it badly. He was assigned the task of securing a 10 percent voluntary contribution to the state loan from the workers of the plant. With guileless naiveté [innocence] he had posted an announcement that 10 percent would be deducted from their pay envelopes . . . without an agitation program in the shop to explain the need of the state for the funds, . . . without calling a factory meeting at which the activists among the workers could pledge the required amount. His action caused a furor in the raion committee. At Teplov's direction the head of the industrial section called the young man in, gave him a good dressing down, and returned him full-time to his job of running a stitching machine in the factory. Now they would have to select a new partorg—one with a greater sense of delicacy and proper form. . . .

He worked his way patiently through the pile of notes . . .

Finally, about one-thirty, he finished. It was a warm July evening. Teplov wore a light coat as he walked home. . . .

But, now that he was no longer working, his feeling of uneasiness returned. The decision to seek a career in the party apparatus was a risky one, although it hadn't seemed so to Teplov at the time. He was an engineering student, son of a foreman in a textile plant. His mother was a peasant who had come to the city to work in the same factory in which she met his father. It had seemed quite natural for him to enter the Komsomol, and quite natural for him to accept the assignments which were given to him. Before he realized it, shortly after graduation he was no longer an engineer, but an *apparatchik*, a member of the party apparatus. First he was party secretary of the plant in which he had shortly before been a junior engineer; then head of the industrial sector in a raion committee; an interruption for the war, when he served as a political officer to a regiment and was wounded; and then he returned to be second, and finally, first secretary of the Baltisk Raion. Teplov had not been a very distinguished youth. He was a little more energetic than average, a little above average in intelligence, and below average in imagination. He was very little concerned with politics, but quite intent on making a career for himself, and was entirely content to do what was asked of him in order to attain that goal. He was a technician-bureaucrat in a world of politics. As much as possible, he tried to stay apart from factional struggles within

Guileless means innocent, without cunning or tricks.

An agitation program would attempt to stir public discussion and enlist workers' support.

► Do you know people who will do whatever is asked in order to succeed? What do you think of this behavior?

► What are the advantages of staying neutral in a factional fight? of joining one of the sides?

the Party . . . he managed to survive a full dozen years in the Party without becoming identified as anybody's man.

But tonight he was worried. It was comforting that he was not involved in any of the contending [opposing] factions in the Party. He could be sure that he would not automatically . . . [lose his job] if the wrong faction won. But, at the same time, he could not be sure of the support of any of the factions either . . . and even though he had no one group of enemies, he did have individual enemies. Particularly he knew that he had enemies in some of the agencies in Moscow and in some of the central party offices. . . .

Perhaps his worst enemy was V. N. Rashevsky. Teplov had argued with Rashevsky. Now Rashevsky was an important official in the Kremlin.

FOR THOUGHT:

What do Teplov's characteristics reveal about decision-makers at a lower level in an authoritarian political system?

40 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A PARTY BUREAUCRAT (PART 2)

Reading 40 contains the second part of Professor Bauer's sketch of Teplov. As you read it, think about these questions:

1. What job did Teplov hold? What did he have to do in that job?
2. What personal characteristics did he need to do the job well?

The next morning, the inspector from the shoe factory, Boris Aleksandrovitch Davidenkov, was waiting in Teplov's office.

. . . The inspector was a good fellow who caused no difficulty for the raion. . . . He brought Teplov many juicy bits of gossip from Moscow. For this Teplov was grateful. . . .

"Good morning, Boris . . . I'm delighted to see you," Teplov said. "I understand things are going fairly well with the plastic soles out at the shoe factory. They had a little trouble with the stitching machines at first, but I think that's pretty well in

hand now. . . . But you can see for yourself when you visit the plant. Tell me, how are things in the ministry?"

"So-so. Looks like they're going to ease up on the pressure. At least you don't hear people going around [talking] about raising the production quotas. . . ."

"What's happening to my old friend Rashevsky?" Teplov asked.

"Oh, is he an old friend of yours?" — Davidenkov had missed the irony in Teplov's tone. — "Well, I guess you're in luck. The rumor is he's going to be head of the cadres division of the Central Committee. . . ."

Teplov's head swam. There was no worse place to have an enemy . . .

Teplov called his committee meeting to order. The first order of business was to fill the job of partorg in the shoe factory. He suggested a young foreman who had been a member of the Party for about three years. He had a good party record, was an excellent worker, and seemed to be ambitious to move ahead in the Party.

Kornetsky (second secretary of the raion) objected: "He is a valuable worker. The shoe factory is one of the pilot plants developing the use of synthetic soles for the entire country. It cannot spare the services of so valuable a workman."

Teplov was dumbfounded. What was behind Kornetsky's protest? The job of partorg in the shoe factory was not sufficiently important to take the man off his regular job more than part time. If it were a big factory with hundreds of party members, Kornetsky's objection might make sense. Then there might be a full-time party secretary, and he would have to be pulled off production. What, Teplov wondered, can Kornetsky be up to? Ordinarily he would have given Kornetsky a thorough dressing down for such stupidity. But maybe this time there was more behind his protest than met the eye. Teplov turned his eyes questioningly toward Voronsky, the factory director.

Voronsky [director of the shoe factory] was flustered. He stammered and could not answer immediately. Kornetsky cut in and continued: "We must be extremely careful with our personnel decisions. At the present time even such an appointment as this may be reviewed by the cadres division of the Central Committee. But, of course, I defer to the judgment of Antip Trofimovitch."

Teplov began to perspire. So this is the game, he said to himself; he's going to make enough of a protest to get himself on the record, let me push the appointment through, and then use this as a lever to get me out by going to Rashevsky with it. Teplov fumbled for words, but before any could come to his lips,

Head of the cadres division
has charge of training key
personnel.

► What do you think of
people who try to cover
themselves, no matter what
happens?

there was a noise in the hall, the door flew open, and Blonsky, the editor of the paper, bustled in. . . . He was flourishing a sheaf of papers. "Sorry, sorry, gentlemen," he said. "Big news from Moscow. I had to wait around to make sure the stenographer got it off the radio correctly. Here it is, Antip Trofimovitch." He tossed the papers down on Teplov's desk.

Teplov glanced at the dispatch. . . . The men in the room watched him, waiting for some comment.

Teplov read the dispatch aloud:

"A group of enemies of the Soviet state have been arrested for a plot to capture key positions in the Central Committee of the Party itself. These scoundrels, supporters of Lavrenti Beria in his antistate activities, had wormed their way into influential posts in the party apparatus. They had planned to effect their dominance over the Party by securing positions from which they could influence the appointments of personnel. A major step in this plan was to promote to the position of chief in the cadres section. . . ."

Teplov paused and stole a glance at Kornetsky. Kornetsky's pipe was not in its accustomed position. He had it in his hand and was stuffing it energetically with tobacco. Teplov continued: ". . . V. N. Rashevsky. Rashevsky, knowing that he could not escape from Soviet socialist justice, took his own life yesterday evening. All other members of this bandit clique are in custody."

Teplov put the dispatch down. . . . "Well"—he paused . . . "I think we can take that man as partorg. Now, how about the rest of the list?"

FOR THOUGHT:

Who could decide Teplov's political fate? What does your answer reveal about an authoritarian political system?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 8

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 8A: Analysis of Soviet decision-makers—choosing Brezhnev's successor (individual or group)

Reading 8 in the **Book of Readings** presents descriptions of four Soviet politicians, any one of whom might succeed Leonid I. Brezhnev as First Secretary of the Communist Party. From the information in this

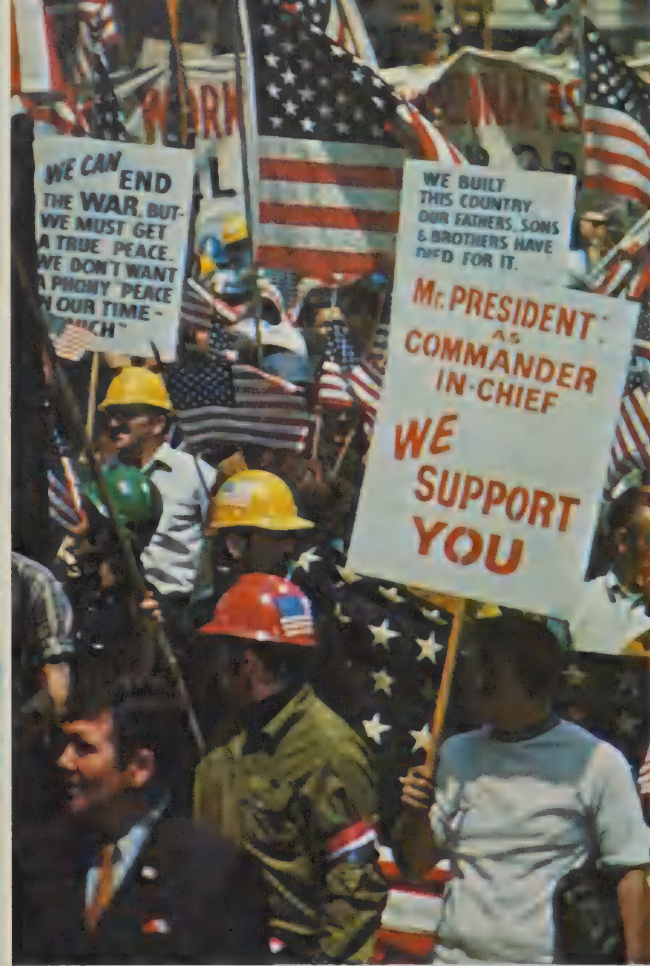
reading, develop a chart which compares the political characteristics of these four men and indicates whom you think is most likely to become Brezhnev's successor.

Activity 8B: Case study of Soviet leadership—Nikita Khrushchev (individual)

Reading 9 in the **Book of Readings** describes Nikita Khrushchev's political career. After completing this reading, write a brief essay in which you identify and evaluate the factors that enabled Khrushchev to gain and maintain power as a Communist Party worker and top political decision-maker.

Activity 8C: Organizing a Soviet-style election in your class (group)

Reading 10 in the **Book of Readings** describes Communist Party elections in the Soviet Union. After completing this article, plan, organize, and run a mock election in your class using Soviet electoral procedures. Then, evaluate the reactions of the voters (students) who participate in the election.



UNIT 5

Political Decision-Making

Political Decision-Making in the United States

STATING THE ISSUE

Governments engage in three kinds of activities. They regulate the behavior of citizens—for example, enforcing traffic laws or forbidding schools to segregate students by race. Governments also extract goods and services from people. Raising money through taxes and drafting men into the army are two examples. Finally, governments distribute the resources of a society. They use the money they collect for such things as building highways or providing lunches for school children.

All these activities of the government—whether regulating, extracting, or distributing—begin as problems that must be faced. For example: How can we control pollution of the environment (regulation)? Where can we find the money to build better schools (extraction)? How can we be sure people do not starve (distribution)? Finding the answers to questions such as these involves government officials continuously in the decision-making process. This process can be divided into five steps:

1. Define the problem to be solved. This process includes understanding the problem thoroughly, deciding what goals should be reached, and recognizing the values implied in the decision.
2. State all possible ways to reach the goals.
3. Evaluate carefully the probable effects that each possible solution might have, discarding those that seem impractical or harmful in the process.

CHAPTER

9

4. Choose the policy that appears likely to achieve most of the goals aimed for, remembering that no policy is perfect.

5. Review the choice to see whether the setting of the problem has changed and whether the goals and values of the decision-makers have remained the same.

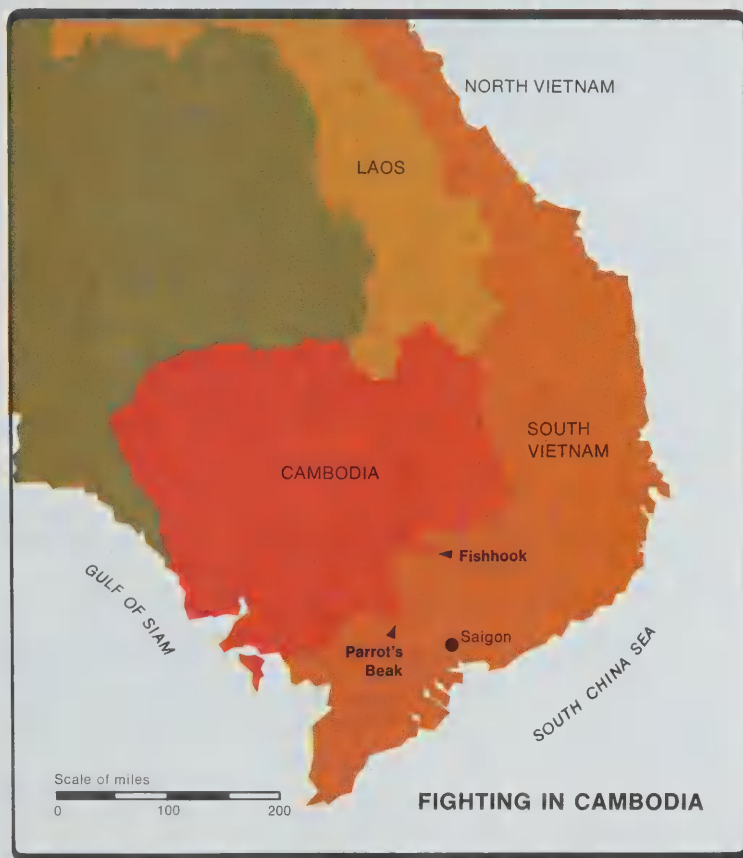
Chapter 9 examines decision-making in the government of the United States. The first five readings concern President Richard M. Nixon's decisions to invade Cambodia in 1970 and to support the invasion of Laos by the South Vietnamese in 1971. The next two readings examine decision-making by judges and by government executives and bureaucrats. The final reading raises the question of whether decision-making is as rational as the five-step process you have just read about implies.

41 CAMBODIA: THE PRESIDENT MAKES A DECISION

On April 30, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon announced that American troops stationed in South Vietnam had moved into the neighboring state of Cambodia. They had been sent, he said, to destroy enemy base camps and to attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. The accompanying map indicates the areas where the invasion took place.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the French had established control over the countries in Indochina. After World War II, the French government was determined to reassert its influence. But Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese Communist leader, was equally determined to win complete independence for the Vietnamese people. In 1946, he began a guerrilla war against the French.

By 1954, France faced defeat in Vietnam. Although the American government was sympathetic, it refused to send troops to



aid the French forces. Instead, an agreement was reached in Geneva between France, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union. Vietnam was temporarily divided at the 17th parallel until an election could be held to create a unified government. North of this line, Ho Chi Minh and his forces controlled the country. A pro-western government was established in the south. The United States did not sign the Geneva accords, but agreed to abide by them.

In order to strengthen South Vietnam, the United States began sending military and economic aid, including both army officers and enlisted men to act as advisers. The amount of aid steadily increased throughout the 1960's. By 1968, over half a million American servicemen were in Vietnam and more than

17,000 had died there. Although peace conferences began in 1968, the savage war continued. By January 1971, over 44,000 Americans had been killed in Vietnam.

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon, promised to end the war if he were elected, although he did not spell out how he would do it. He also promised to strengthen the South Vietnamese government and its army so that the nation could protect itself. He called this strategy "Vietnamization." About eight months after he became President, Nixon began withdrawing American troops from Vietnam. Early in 1970, however, President Nixon faced a difficult problem. Communist forces seemed to threaten both American withdrawals and the Vietnamization program. As you read about the way in which the President made a decision about how to deal with this problem, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What was the problem that President Nixon faced in late April 1970? What were the President's goals?
2. What alternative ways to solve the problem occurred to the President?
3. What might have happened in each case if the President had chosen that alternative?
4. Why did President Nixon decide to send American troops into Cambodia?

Newsweek, May 18, 1970.
pp. 10-11. Copyright
Newsweek, Inc., 1970.

Richard Nixon's Ten Days

On April 20, the President appeared on television . . . to announce the withdrawal of an additional 150,000 U.S. troops from Vietnam over the next year. . . . But on April 30, he was back on television, this time to announce a widening of the war into Cambodia. Precisely how this reversal came about remains a mystery. But as *Newsweek* correspondents have pieced it together, Mr. Nixon's lonely decision was made this way:

April 21: The President drops in on the 7:30 A.M. meeting of the White House staff, appearing bright and cheerful. Halfway

around the world, however, a fuse lit on March 18 by the ouster of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia is burning fast. Communist troops have taken two provincial capitals—and this day will seize a third. The shaky new regime of General Lon Nol makes a . . . request for arms. By nightfall Mr. Nixon's mood is somber, and he calls an emergency meeting of the National Security Council for the next afternoon.

April 22: By meeting time, the President is already strongly inclined toward action. . . . The council discusses various options, including . . . limited U.S. and South Vietnamese strikes into Cambodia before the rainy season begins in May. The talk centers on an apparent effort by the Communists to tighten their grip on Cambodia's eastern provinces, and the threat that such a development would pose to the Vietnamization program. The threat is deemed considerable, though the Joint Chiefs are surprisingly leery of any heavy involvement by U.S. ground troops. A preliminary decision is made to take action if the analysis of the threat to the Vietnamization program stands up.

April 23: The President now calls in . . . the Washington Special Action Group and asks them to draw up several basic options, ranging from the supply of arms to Lon Nol to the full commitment of U.S. troops.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Rogers tells a House subcommittee on appropriations that any widening of U.S. involvement in Indochina would be unwise . . . because Congress and the public would not go along. . . . It is the same advice he has been giving the President.

April 24: Communist forces continue their advances in Cambodia. . . . In the evening, [the President reflects] on options far more Draconian [harsh] than the mere supplying of arms to the Lon Nol regime. . . .

April 25: [Foreign policy advisor Henry] Kissinger arrives . . . bearing a thick notebook loaded with options. For two solid hours he briefs the President on the various proposals and their probable consequences.

April 26: . . . another meeting of the National Security Council is held, this one secret. By now the President, still standing alone, leans heavily toward the commitment of U.S. ground troops, as well as U.S. air support. Rogers again states his doubts, and Attorney General John Mitchell adds that there could be "political difficulty" at home. . . . But the potential repercussions are dismissed as bearable. . . . The consensus [general agreement]: U.S. air support should be risked—but no advisers. No one urges a U.S. commitment on the ground.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk ruled Cambodia from 1941 to 1970. Military leaders overthrew him.

Lon Nol is the general who succeeded Sihanouk as head of the Cambodian government.

The National Security Council advises the President on matters pertaining to national security.

Vietnamization is the name given to Nixon's plan to shift responsibility for the fighting of the war to South Vietnamese forces.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff are the heads of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force.

The Washington Special Action Group is a picked group of Presidential advisers.

► How can a leader be certain he is getting reliable information from his subordinates?

Repercussions are the effects of an action.

Ellsworth Bunker is the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam. General Creighton Abrams was U.S. Commander there at the time.

► Suppose that most of your friends opposed a decision you were about to make, what would you do?

The New York Times,
May 1, 1970, p. 3.

April 27: Secretary Rogers appears before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee . . . [He] does nothing to clear up the situation. But at the White House, the President's mind is racing far ahead . . . he confers with Kissinger many times. He sees Secretaries Laird and Rogers. He discusses domestic political consequences with White House staffers H. R. Haldeman and John Erlichman. He personally queries Bunker and Abrams for their views on various levels of escalation . . . that night . . . Mr. Nixon reads through the options book, cover to cover.

April 28: The day of decision. Mr. Nixon tells Kissinger he is going whole hog—an operation limited strictly in time and space, but with the U.S. fully committed on the ground and in the air. Rogers and Laird are informed.

April 29: . . . the President goes into isolation to dictate his speech to the nation, announced for the following night. . . .

April 30: By afternoon the speech is finished. At 6 P.M. the White House staff is assembled and told. . . . At 7 the President himself briefs members of Congress and the Cabinet. . . .

In the course of his decision, the President had overruled his own Secretary of State, who had concluded that the . . . consequences of intervention would far outweigh any possible military gains. Apparently working from the same information that many of his advisers possessed, he had come to far different conclusions. Said one high administration official: "It was the President's personal decision. Some say it was a lonely decision, but I don't think we ought to talk about that. It's not good for the country to talk about that."

President Defends Cambodian Action

Here is part of what the President told the nation on the night of April 30, as reported by The New York Times.

"I would rather be a one-term President and do what I believe is right than be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history . . .

“... to do nothing would have threatened the lives of troops left in Vietnam after the next troop withdrawal; to provide massive military aid to Cambodia would not be quick enough or effective enough. To clean out the sanctuaries that serve for attacks on South Vietnam was the only way. . . .”

FOR THOUGHT:

Is there any practical way for the President to share decision-making authority in a case such as Cambodia with the Senate?



MILITARY CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM, 1961-1971

Year	U.S.	South Vietnam	North Vietnam and Vietcong
1961	11	4,004	12,133
1962	31	4,457	21,158
1963	78	5,665	20,575
1964	147	7,457	16,785
1965	1,369	11,243	35,436
1966	5,008	11,953	55,524
1967	9,378	12,716	88,104
1968	14,592	27,915	181,149
1969	9,414	21,833	156,954
1970	4,221	23,346	103,638
1971	1,269	22,069*	98,094

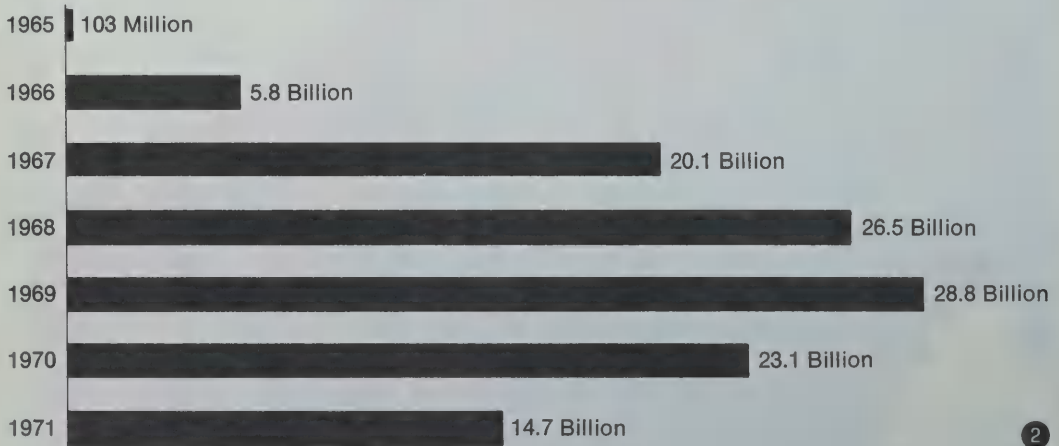
Source: U.S. Department of Defense

*Preliminary figure.

1

What is the problem in Vietnam?

COST OF THE VIETNAM WAR IN DOLLARS, 1965-1971



Source: U.S. Department of Defense

2

More Aid for Vietnamese

I have already ordered measures to step up the fighting capacity of the South Vietnamese forces, to help improve the welfare and the morale of their civilian population, to keep our forces at whatever level continued independence and freedom require.

No negotiated settlement in Vietnam is possible as long as the Communists hope to achieve victory by force. Once war seems hopeless, then peace may be possible. The door is always open to any settlement which assures the independence of South Vietnam, and its freedom to seek help for its protection.

In Laos we continue to sup-

Excerpt from a speech by
President Lyndon Johnson in
April, 1964

3



A North Vietnamese propaganda poster





*Cambodia:
What were the options?*





42 CAMBODIA: THE REACTION OF THE PUBLIC

President Nixon made the decision to use American troops in Cambodia without consulting the voters. Reading 41 explained why he acted in this way. But the television speech of April 30 in which he explained his decision touched off widespread public reaction. Citizens made several demands of their elected representatives in Congress. When a number of groups supported these demands and leaders in Congress got behind them, new laws were made.

Governments in democratic countries are more responsive to the views of citizens than those in authoritarian countries. In democratic countries, citizens express their demands in several ways. First, they contact their legislators by writing letters to them, telephoning, or calling on them in person. Sometimes they also demonstrate. Second, they work through interest groups such as business organizations, labor unions, churches, or veterans' groups. These organizations often have lobbyists in Washington to tell elected officials how their members feel. Finally, they work through political parties in order to change party policies on key issues. An elected official who ignores demands from voters, interest groups, and his party organization risks defeat in the next election.

President Nixon and his supporters and the senators and representatives who opposed the use of American troops in Cambodia knew about the need to respond to public opinion. The public, in turn, wanted to be heard. Many groups were involved. Since citizens were divided over the decision to invade Cambodia, they reacted in many ways.

Reading 42 is a chronology—a list of events in the order in which they happened—of some of the most important reactions to the situation in Cambodia. The chronology stresses the activities of young people, particularly college students, over a two-week period. If you had followed the Cambodia story for a couple of weeks in your newspaper, you would have read accounts of all these events and many more far too numerous to include in a short reading. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. How did Americans respond to the decision to use American troops in Cambodia? What goals did different groups seem to have?
2. What alternative solutions did these groups support?
3. Why were college students so active on this issue? Would they have been more effective if economic, religious, veteran, and other groups had been equally active?

Americans React to the President's Decision

May 1 New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announces plans for a national demonstration on May 9 to protest the expansion of the war.

American University students (Washington, D.C.) plan one-day strike to protest Nixon's actions in Cambodia. Rioting occurs at Stanford University over the Cambodia crisis.

May 2 Sixty-eight members of the Cornell University faculty and the National Students Association call for Nixon's impeachment.

Group of eight college professors draft a statement to be sent to New York's two senators and the representatives from New York City, asking them to reverse Nixon's current move.

Young Democrat and Young Republican Club presidents report formation of a bi-partisan group with the goal of convincing Congress to repudiate Nixon's escalation of the war.

The League of Women Voters denounces the escalation of the Vietnam war. This move breaks the League precedent of refusing to take sides on public issues.

Ten student body presidents in a joint press conference ask the House of Representatives to begin impeachment proceedings against the President. They urge the public to express its support by telegraphing, writing, and petitioning Congress.

May 3 The Senate Foreign Relations Committee receives 1,650 wires from Americans, with a ratio of more than 8 to 1 against Nixon's move.

► To what extent are students justified in using school time for political activity?

The National Student Association acts as a spokesman for student opinion in about 300 colleges and universities in the United States.

The League of Women Voters is a nonpartisan women's organization. Its purpose is to provide information on issues and candidates in local, state, and national elections.





What reactions did Americans have to the announcement about Cambodia? What do these reactions reveal about the nature of a pluralistic society?



► What limits, if any, would you place on the activities of students who wish to change government policy?

ROTC stands for Reserve Officers Training Corps. ROTC units train college students to become commissioned officers in the United States armed forces.

The White House receives hundreds of telephone calls. White House Communications Director Herb Klein says Americans overwhelmingly support the sweeps into Cambodia.

- May 4 Movie and television celebrities announce plans to support the demonstration against the war to be sponsored May 9 in Washington, D.C., by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Editors of student newspapers for 11 major eastern colleges meet at Columbia University to urge a nationwide walkout by the academic community to protest Nixon's move into Cambodia.

- May 5 Four students at Kent State University (Ohio) are shot to death by the National Guard during continuing student protests against U.S. involvement in the war. Thirty-seven college and university presidents send a letter to President Nixon urging a prompt end to American involvement in Southeast Asia.

Western Union reports that 100,000 opinion wires were sent to Washington in the past three days.

ROTC buildings at three universities are damaged by fires.

- May 7 Thousands of college students join nationwide boycott of classes and antiwar protests. Over 80 colleges across the country close down for periods ranging from one day to the rest of the academic year.

Columbia and Yale University students begin nationwide efforts to get students and faculty to go to Washington to lobby in Congress against the war.

Princeton University students plan to involve college students and others in a sustained effort to campaign for congressional candidates opposed to the war.

- May 8 Thousands of college students from across the United States arrive early in Washington for a massive antiwar demonstration. They spend the day meeting with their congressmen to urge legislative support of moves to end the war.

- May 9 Helmeted construction workers, proclaiming their support for the President's policies, attack peaceful antiwar demonstrators in New York City. Seventy persons are injured.

Demonstrators gathered in Washington receive a permit to rally on the grounds south of the White House.

- May 10 Antiwar demonstrators, spending the night sleeping on the mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial, receive a dawn visit from President Nixon. He tells them that his aims are the same as theirs.
Between 75,000 and 100,000 citizens demonstrate peaceably in Washington, demanding American withdrawal from Southeast Asia.
Many cities hold sympathy rallies. Scattered incidents of violence are reported.
- May 15 Relative calm returns to most campuses. Some colleges close for the remainder of the term. Many students leave school to work in primary campaigns for congressional candidates.

FOR THOUGHT:

If you had been the President, how would you have reacted to the events described in this chronology? If you had been a senator opposed to the war, how would you have reacted?

43 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The mass media—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and television—play an important part in modern democratic political systems. Their role during the Cambodia incident is a good illustration of this generalization. President Nixon used the television networks to tell the public his reasons for using American troops in Cambodia. During the following weeks, all the media carried stories about student protestors, the tragic killings at Kent State University, and the reactions of the rest of the public. Because no one person or group controls the media in the United States, citizens got a variety of viewpoints about Cambodia.

Three major influences help to shape people's opinions about politics. The first is face-to-face contact. People who follow politics closely often serve as opinion leaders among their friends. Your parents may be opinion leaders, or they may know someone who is an opinion leader because his friends have respect for his judgment about politics. Rather than form their own opinions about issues, many citizens adopt the positions of the opinion leaders they know.

The second influence comes from interest groups and political parties. Labor unions, churches, business groups, veterans'

organizations and many other interest groups help to shape people's opinions and to tell legislators what citizens want. In democratic societies, many people belong to several interest groups. Hence they hear several opinions and have several channels through which to influence legislators. When different interest groups make different demands at once, legislators must consider alternative courses of action.

The third influence that shapes people's opinions about politics and communicates them to leaders is the mass media. The media give political leaders a powerful way to influence public opinion. President Nixon used television to explain his decision about Cambodia in order to win public support for his policy. The media can also tell leaders what citizens want and in this way help to influence legislation.

Reading 43 illustrates the role of one part of the media in the Cambodia incident. It consists entirely of excerpts from editorials and cartoons from newspapers during the early summer of 1970. Look at each editorial excerpt and cartoon carefully with the following questions in mind:

1. What message does each editorial or cartoon carry? Does everyone agree?
2. In what ways might editorials and cartoons influence decision-makers?

The New York Times, May 2, 1970, p. 10.

Copiously, in this case, means very freely.

► Can you think of any situations where fighting to win a war is not always a wise policy?

A Sampling of Editorial Comment on Nixon's Decision

"It is all utterly pointless, a matter of sending more good blood after the blood we have already helped so copiously to waste. There is only one way to save lives. That is to end the war."

Newsday

"... We feel the President's decision was a great mistake."

The Trenton Times

"... great risks are involved in his [Nixon's] new course of action, but this newspaper agrees with him they are worth taking."

The Detroit News

"Americans are sick and tired of being sick and tired. They need this war won because more lives can be saved and less pain suffered that way than by letting North Vietnam continue to get away with murder."

The Jersey Journal

"The fact is that American territorial integrity is not threatened by the acts of the Communists in Cambodia. Nor would this nation's position as a world leader be [endangered] by its failure to engage Communist forces in Cambodia."

The Cleveland Plain-Dealer

"The kind of thing we should have been doing all along. It is the only way the Communists can be brought to talk peace. We are grateful for a President who refuses to accept American defeat."

The Phoenix Gazette

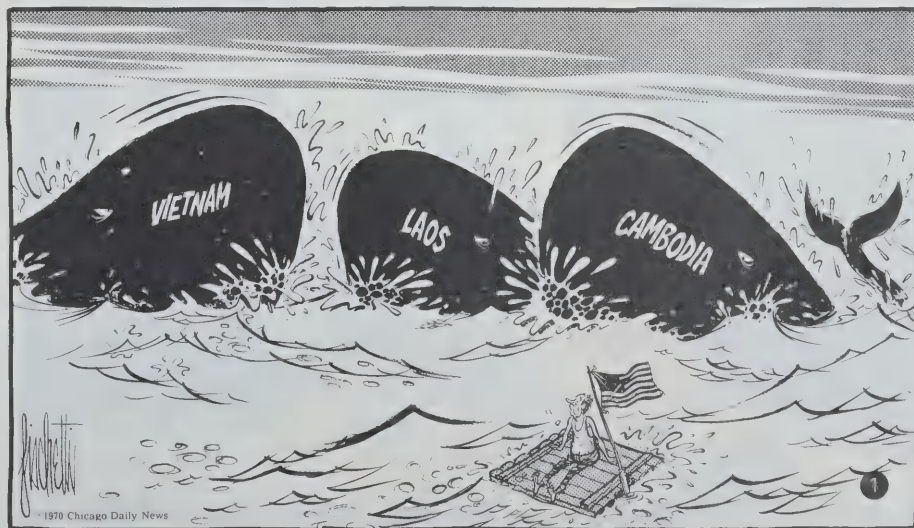
"It was the old Nixon talking, the tough Nixon, the courageous Nixon. It was the battling Nixon whom now the nation must support. The United States is on the Southeast Asian peninsula to do a job—i.e., to prevent the enslavement of millions."

The Richmond News Leader

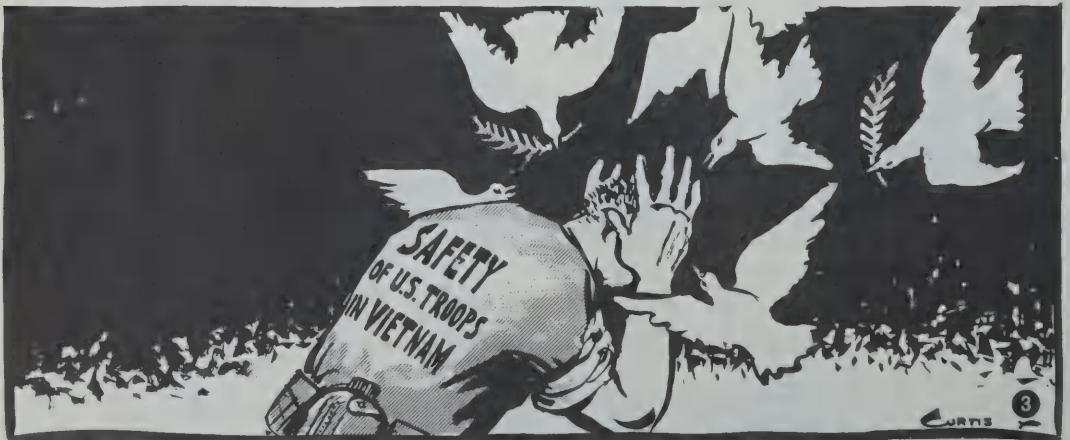
"... the sort of chauvinistic, bowl-game approach to the Vietnam war that Lyndon Johnson took. We think it runs counter to the attitude of the average American, who does not care whether we win the war in Southeast Asia."

The Arkansas Democrat

Chauvinistic means blindly and extremely patriotic.



JONAH



The Birds



"Laos! Cambodia! Why can't we stay in Vietnam, where we belong?"

"The Jackpot Must Be Just About Due"



FOR THOUGHT:

How can society be sure that all points of view get a chance to be heard fairly through the mass media?

44 CAMBODIA: CONGRESS REACTS

According to the Constitution, the President and Congress share decision-making power in the field of foreign affairs. Article I, Section 8 gives Congress power to provide for the common defense, to declare war, and to raise and support the armed forces. Congress also has the power to set taxes and appropriate money, giving it a way to control the military by cutting off its funds. Article II, Section 2, however, makes the President the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. It also gives him power "by and with the consent of the Senate" to make treaties and to appoint ambassadors and consuls.

The United States government never declared war in Vietnam. Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon sent advisers and soldiers to Vietnam by executive action. Critics complained that the executive department had bypassed Congress while actually involving the United States in a war. In 1964, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which gave congressional approval to the measures being taken by President Johnson to oppose the Communists in Southeast Asia. Still, the fight over the power of the President to commit the nation to war continued.

In the Senate, United States foreign policy is the particular responsibility of the Foreign Relations Committee. In 1970, the committee chairman was the Arkansas Democrat, William Fulbright, a leading opponent of the war. When President Nixon announced his decision to use American troops in Cambodia, Senator Fulbright asked for a conference between the President and the Foreign Relations Committee to discuss the differences between the executive and legislative branches of the government. Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic Majority Leader, joined the attack on the President's policies.

The reactions of the public and the media encouraged senators who opposed the war to act. As readings 42 and 43 indicated, demands to end the war in Southeast Asia increased steadily. Demonstrations led by students in Washington made the position of this important group clear. The media helped to focus discontent and concentrate attention on what might be done.

Nixon's policy in Vietnam involved three closely related issues. The first concerned the President's power to conduct the war in Vietnam. The second involved the expansion of the

Vietnamese war into a neighboring state, Cambodia. The third focused on party politics, since the President was a Republican and many of his leading opponents were Democrats. Reading 44 describes what Congress did in this situation. It consists entirely of newspaper stories so that you may follow developments just as millions of citizens did through their local newspapers. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What was the problem that the Senate faced? What goals seemed most important to the senators?
2. What alternative ways to solve the problem occurred to them?
3. What might have been the effect of taking each alternative?

Bipartisan Senate Group Maps a Three-Pronged Antiwar Strategy

The New York Times, May 9,
1970, p. 4.

A group of Democratic and Republican senators have devised a three-pronged strategy for challenging President Nixon's policies in Southeast Asia and for placing legislative restrictions on his powers as Commander in Chief.

The opening thrust will be to use congressional control over the purse strings to try to prohibit the future use of American ground combat troops in Cambodia.

The next step will be to attempt to repeal the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which gave congressional approval to steps taken by the President to repel Communist aggression in Southeast Asia. And then the tentative plan is to seek legislation requiring the withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam by mid-1971.

This strategy has been worked out among a group of fifteen to twenty senators—about equally divided between the two parties—who have been meeting privately for the last few days at the invitation of Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. . . .

The opening round in the three-phased strategy will come next week, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to report out a foreign military sales bill containing a

This bill authorized funds to finance the sale of military equipment to foreign nations.

Cambodian amendment sponsored by Senators John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, and Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho . . .

The New York Times,
May 15, 1970, p. 1.

Senate Unit Votes to Restrict Funds in Cambodia War

Over State Department objections that Congress was proposing to restrict the President's constitutional powers as Commander in Chief, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved an amendment to cut off funds for future American military activities in Cambodia. The amendment, attached to a foreign military sales bill, now goes to the Senate floor, where it will provide a test of sentiment on the Cambodian operation . . .

If the amendment is adopted by the Senate, the issue will go to a Senate-House conference committee to iron out differences on the military sales bill, which has already been approved by the House. The hope of the amendment's supporters is that an impressive enough majority can be obtained in the Senate so that the conference committee will accept the amendment to clear the military sales bill, which is sought by the administration.

Normally, hearings on a
controversial measure take
several weeks.

The amendment was adopted by the committee [after one day of discussion] by a vote of 9 to 4.

The New York Times,
May 12, 1970, p. 1.

The administration sent three top officials to the Capitol today to warn Republican senators that proposed legislation cutting off funds for future military involvement in Cambodia could impair the credibility abroad of President Nixon.

The Secretary of Defense, Melvin R. Laird, Under Secretary of State Elliot L. Richardson, and Henry Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, met for nearly two hours with Republican senators amid an increasingly testy debate in the Senate over an amendment to a foreign military sales bill that would prohibit the President from using any funds to "retain" American military forces in Cambodia.

A testy debate is one marked
by impatience or ill-humor
on both sides.

On June 30, after 34 days of debate and 288 speeches, the Senate voted 58 to 37 to add the Cooper-Church amendment prohibiting the President from using funds to retain troops in Cambodia to the foreign military sales bill. They approved the

bill itself by a vote of 75 to 20. A few days earlier the Senate added an amendment to this same bill that repealed the Tonkin Gulf resolution.

Meanwhile, the third prong of the congressional antiwar strategy was begun. A bill authorizing funds for defense expenditures was submitted to the Senate. The bill was sent to committee. Attached to it was an amendment prohibiting the use of military funds in Vietnam after December 31, 1971, except for the purpose of withdrawing American troops. This was known as the Hatfield-McGovern amendment. This bill was brought out of committee for debate on the Senate floor at the end of August. The night before the Hatfield-McGovern amendment was to be debated by the full Senate, Senator Fulbright appeared on television. The New York Times carried the following account of his speech:

On "Reply to the President," a special thirty-minute program televised by the National Broadcasting Company to provide opponents of the administration's Indochina policy with a chance to air their views, Senator Fulbright said:

"(The Indochina) war is a bad investment of our resources and talents. It is contrary to common sense, a departure from our best traditions and it offends our inherent sense of decency. That is why there is such general dissent, such widespread disillusionment, and such a lack of confidence in the wisdom of our actions.

"The central question is whether we wish to be the greatest, proudest military power the world has ever known, the world policeman who rushes into the breach whenever trouble arises, or would we rather be known to future generations for our success in solving human problems. . . .

"Correcting a mistake is not a defeat or a humiliation. It is a rational and honorable way of coming to grips with reality."

The program on which Senator Fulbright appeared was the first in a series broadcast by a major network in compliance with a ruling by the Federal Communications Commission that instructed broadcasters to provide prime time to critics of the President's Indochina policy to balance the free prime time the President has had to make speeches supporting his policy.

By a vote of 55 to 39, an alliance of Republicans and southern Democrats turned down the proposal by Senators Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, and George S. McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, to withdraw all American soldiers from Indochina by the end of next year. . . .

The New York Times,
September 1, 1970, p. 1.

► How do you answer the charge that it is unpatriotic not to support a war once the country gets involved?

The fairness doctrine requires that on controversial issues, radio and TV must allow both sides to present their arguments. President Nixon made speeches defending his Vietnam policy. Critics demanded and received from the networks free time to answer him.

The New York Times,
September 2, 1970, p. 1.

► What happens to the checks and balances in the Constitution if Congress always supports the President without question?

Senator McGovern was referring to the debate over the President's right to engage in military activities in Indochina without a formal declaration of war by Congress.

Before passing the \$19.2 billion military procurement bill, the Senate also rejected 71 to 22, a proposal that would have forbidden the army to send draftees to South Vietnam against their will. . . .

Senators who opposed the amendment made it clear that they felt their victory . . . indicated a willingness on the part of the Senate to go along with the President's plans for Vietnamization, turning the fighting over to the South Vietnamese. . . .

Some of those who supported the amendment . . . took a different view.

One Senate aide close to the effort said, "It shows the President that he has a narrow margin of support as long as he proceeds along the line he has laid down. . . .

The hour of debate on the amendment . . . was hardly dramatic, although it built up to one of the most outspoken speeches in recent Senate memory. . . .

Just before the end of the hour, Senator McGovern rose. "Every senator in this chamber is partly responsible for sending 50,000 young Americans to an early grave. . . . Those young men will one day curse us for our pitiful willingness to let the executive carry the burden that the Constitution places on us."

Until December, HR 16628, the foreign military sales bill bearing the Cooper-Church amendment was deadlocked in committee. If Congress adjourned without further action, the bill would die. Several attempts were made to get similar amendments attached to other bills. In the House of Representatives, those attempts always failed.

On November 18, President Nixon asked Congress to appropriate additional foreign aid money to cope with emergencies that had come up in the Mideast as well as in Cambodia. In response to the President's request, the House passed a supplemental foreign aid bill on December 9. On December 14, the Senate passed a similar bill. The Senate added an amendment to its version of this bill. The amendment prohibited the use of United States ground troops in Cambodia. The two bills went to conference. On December 22nd, the House approved a conference report on this supplemental foreign aid bill. The report contained the controversial amendment. On the 29th, the bill was approved by the Senate. . . . The President signed it and it became law. Once this bill was passed, Senate conferees on HR 16628 agreed to drop the Cooper-Church amendment. The bill came out of committee without the controversial amendment,



In addition to calling on an elected representative, what else could you have done to influence the votes on the measures described in this reading?

but with the amendment repealing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. The conference report was accepted by both House and Senate, and the bill became a law.

FOR THOUGHT:

Why did the senators take the action they did?

45 DECISION-MAKING ABOUT VIETNAM: THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE

Six closely related groups of events dominated the news about the role of the United States in Vietnam during 1971 and the early months of 1972. They were: peace talks between the United States and North Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops, the story of the My Lai massacre, the release of the Pentagon Papers, the invasion of Laos, and continued demonstrations against the war. Your teacher may ask some of you to report to the class about recent developments related to these events.

Each of these developments influenced decision-making in the government of the United States. Citizens and the mass media played major roles, influencing decision-makers through demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, and revelations about secret government activities. The Senate competed with the President for a more important part in the decision-making process. For this reason, separation of powers and checks and balances—discussed in Reading 19—were widely debated in Congress and the press.

Reading 45 consists of two parts. The first is an account of major events surrounding United States involvement in Vietnam during 1971 and the early months of 1972. The second is an editorial by David Lawrence from the national newsmagazine *U. S. News and World Report*. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. In what ways might each of the six sets of events described below have influenced the decision-making process?
2. What is Mr. Lawrence's position about the decision-making roles of the President and the Senate in foreign affairs?

Peace talks were begun in Paris on May 13, 1968 between representatives of the United States and North Vietnam. In January 1969, the talks were broadened to include South Vietnam and the Vietcong.

The United States and Vietnam: 1971–1972

Throughout 1971, negotiators from North Vietnam and the United States met frequently in Paris, France. The negotiators tried to work out terms for a peace settlement, but they

made little progress. Then early in February 1972, President Nixon announced to a nationwide television audience that Mr. Henry Kissinger, his chief foreign policy advisor, had made twelve trips to Paris to conduct secret negotiations for peace. Beginning in the summer of 1969, Mr. Kissinger had offered increasingly flexible peace terms. He had offered a total withdrawal of United States military forces in return for the release of United States prisoners of war, a \$7.5 billion reconstruction program for Vietnam, and a proposal for internationally conducted elections in South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese rejected all of these proposals. The television broadcast announcing these secret talks undermined the attacks of the President's political opponents, who had charged that Nixon had not tried hard enough to end the war.

On June 8, 1969, Mr. Nixon had announced the first American troop withdrawals. Throughout 1971, Mr. Nixon continued to withdraw troops and by December 1, 1971, only 184,000 remained in Vietnam. Additional withdrawals took place during the following months. Battle casualties of American troops fell steadily throughout this period as South Vietnamese soldiers took over most of the fighting. Draft calls also fell, and prospects improved for an all-volunteer army and an end to the unpopular draft. Attempts in Congress to force the President to set a final date for the withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam failed, however. In the meantime, the air war went on steadily. Americans gradually became aware that their air force had dropped more tons of bombs on Vietnam than it had dropped on all of Europe during World War II.

During 1971, Americans also learned about the tragedy of the My Lai massacre. In March 1968, an American army unit had attacked the hamlet of My Lai in Vietnam and had killed more than a hundred men, women, and children. The army failed to prosecute anyone involved in the attack. Then an ex-soldier told of what he knew about My Lai in letters to public officials, and an investigation began. Although most of the men charged with criminal conduct in the affair were cleared, the army finally convicted Lt. William Calley. He was originally sentenced to life imprisonment, but his sentence was later reduced to twenty years. The entire My Lai affair turned many Americans further against the war and against the army which had failed to prosecute the officers and men responsible for this tragic massacre.

Revelations from the Pentagon Papers also angered many citizens. Beginning in June 1971, *The New York Times* began to publish portions of a forty-seven volume study done in the Pentagon concerning the role of the United States in Vietnam.

► Do you think that the United States should spend money to help a former enemy, such as North Vietnam, reconstruct its war-torn country?

While the army investigated My Lai, former soldiers admitted that several similar massacres occurred in which they had taken part.

The Pentagon is a huge, five-sided building in Arlington, Virginia. It contains the offices of the Department of Defense and the major branches of the armed forces.

► Mr. Ellsberg broke the law by "leaking" the Pentagon Papers to the press. He argued that the public had a right to know what its government was doing. Should private citizens like Mr. Ellsberg break a law when they believe that the public welfare is at stake?

Some of these demonstrations were led by U.S. veterans of the Vietnam war who opposed the role of the United States in that conflict.

► Although many men participated in the My Lai massacre, only Lt. Calley was convicted. Was his conviction justified? Was the President justified in reducing his sentence?

Attempts of the government to halt the publication of the papers failed in the courts. Mr. Daniel Ellsberg, who had helped to compile the papers, admitted that he had xeroxed them and given copies to newspapermen. The Pentagon Papers revealed that officials of several administrations, particularly those in President Johnson's, had not been frank with the American people about Vietnam. These revelations led to further disillusionment about the war.

In the meantime, South Vietnamese troops had invaded neighboring Laos (see map on p. 213). Supported by American air and artillery power, the South Vietnamese troops remained in Laos for forty-four days in an attempt to cut North Vietnamese supply lines. Casualties were heavy, and the results were indecisive. Unlike the invasion of Cambodia, however, no American ground troops took part in this invasion. Nevertheless, the attacks on administration policy increased steadily. Opponents charged that both Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were being killed in an offensive that could not have occurred without American support and approval.

Following the Laotian invasion, a new series of demonstrations against the war took place. About 200,000 demonstrators gathered in Washington on April 24, 1971, while smaller groups demonstrated in other cities throughout the nation. Early in May, a number of fights broke out in Washington between demonstrators and the police. After these outbreaks, the number of people involved in demonstrations decreased during the remainder of the year.

Lt. William Calley being taken to the stockade after his conviction in the My Lai massacre



How Politicians in Congress Weaken American Foreign Policy

U.S. News and World Report
November 1, 1971, p. 96.

The United States has been endeavoring to save South Vietnam from being taken over by North Vietnam. This has been a demonstration against blatant aggression. It is a warning to autocratic governments that they must not violate the independence of other nations in the future.

But despite the fact that America has been conducting a war involving at times as many as 543,000 men—with more than 45,000 Americans killed and more than 150,000 seriously wounded—there are members of Congress who unwittingly have been weakening the position of the President before the world.

Mr. Nixon in recent months has repeatedly said he is engaged in a planned withdrawal of our troops. He has disclosed the number to be pulled out on a prescribed schedule, and he is hopeful that the peace negotiations at Paris will be favorably affected by what he does. But various senators and representatives aren't satisfied and continually press for legislation that would impair the power of the executive by designating a time when all forces must be removed and by action to curtail appropriations for military operations if the President doesn't obey the will of Congress.

In the last few weeks, though it is known that the President intends next year to reduce American troops in Vietnam to a small contingent, some members of Congress have again insisted upon adoption of a resolution which calls for a complete withdrawal by a fixed date.

What does this convey to our enemies? They see it as a sign of weakness. They believe that the President is being forced to take our troops out of Southeast Asia to satisfy public opinion in the United States as reflected in the opposition speeches being made in Congress. Certain members want resolutions passed either establishing a definite date for a pullout or putting Congress on record as requiring a quicker removal of our forces, even though the withdrawal process has already begun and more than half of our fighting men have been brought home.

The power of the United States to defend not only itself but weaker nations in alliance with other countries willing to contribute to the defense of free people is a recognized fact in the

These treaties link the United States in defensive alliances with a number of Asian and European countries.

world. But what various members of Congress are doing, by their speeches demanding a faster return of troops than the President has in mind and by interfering with his foreign policy, simply notifies all nations that the United States may be unwilling in the future to carry out its pledges under the Southeast Asia Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty when crises develop.

Our country takes pride in being a helpful member of the family of nations. It wishes to do whatever is necessary to preserve world peace. But there must be recognized throughout the world that this country is ready to employ its forces in the defense of those who might be attacked. To create the impression that the United States is completely "anti-war" and intends to isolate itself from Europe and Asia . . . is to take a chance that America might some day be drawn into a nuclear war, in which millions of lives would have been lost and a vast amount of property destroyed.

The big task today is to maintain peace. It cannot be done by a United States that is wobbling, and whose foreign policy is under continuous attack by politicians who seek to drum up votes by portraying themselves as "anti-war" instead of strengthening the hands of their government in international relations. More can be done to prevent wars by backing this country's policies than by permitting aggressor regimes to believe they can do as they please, without any possibility of restraint by major powers like the United States.

The United States has made sacrifices in the Vietnam war for a principle and has managed to build up South Vietnam so that it can defend itself. President Nixon, on his forthcoming trips to Peking and Moscow—which have been supplying arms and munitions in large quantity to North Vietnam and are our real adversaries [enemies] in the war—will be trying to get the [Communist] Chinese and the Soviets to agree to help bring peace in Vietnam, in order that all our troops can be promptly withdrawn.

Members of the Senate and the House who have been making speeches virtually demanding "peace at any price" should be supporting the policies of their government, so that the United States can show to the world the strength that is derived [obtained] from the unity of a free people.

FOR THOUGHT:

Under what conditions, if any, should private citizens and public officials oppose the policies of their President?

46 DECISION-MAKING: EXECUTIVES AND BUREAUCRATS

Every day government executives and bureaucrats make many decisions. Some are routine—whether a couple applying for a marriage license meet all the legal requirements, for example. Others involve more important choices: Should the government permit a lumber company to cut mature trees in a forest, or should it keep the area in a natural state for nature lovers?

Voters can control, or at least influence, elected officials. If voters do not like a senator's voting record, they can defeat him in the next election. Fear of defeat forces legislators to listen to the wishes of their constituents. For this reason, letters to congressmen, the activities of interest groups, and the policies set by political parties all influence the ways in which elected officials behave.

Most bureaucrats, however, hold positions during good behavior or for life. Originally they get their jobs by taking civil service examinations. Most federal government executives are appointed by the President or by a high government official. They hold their jobs so long as the executive department wants them to.

These two groups of government decision-makers—bureaucrats and executives—are not directly responsible to voters. Yet they have a constituency, just as congressmen do. In a way, farm organizations make up the constituency of the Secretary of Agriculture just as labor unions are the constituents of the Secretary of Labor. The regulations of the Department of Agriculture directly affect the lives of farmers. Hence, farm organizations try to establish close ties with this department. If the Secretary of Agriculture angers farmers too much, they will bring pressure on the President to force the Secretary to change his policies. Sometimes they may even be able to persuade the President to fire him.

Congress writes general laws. The House and Senate cannot spell out every law in great detail. It is the responsibility of government executives and bureaucrats to fill in the detailed regulations which each law requires. This function gives them important decision-making power. The article that follows describes the problem of decision-making in government depart-

ments and analyzes the roles of the various constituencies involved.

As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How do government executives and bureaucrats get the power to make important political decisions?
2. Does the description of decision-making in this article imply a decision-making process such as that described on pages 207–208?

"Bureaucracy and the Forests" by Charles A. Reich. Reprinted, with permission, from a publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California.

Bureaucracy and the Forests

The forests of our nation are an experiment in public ownership. The people of the United States together possess well over two hundred million acres of land from New England to Alaska. Ownership of this land is easy. Effective ownership, including the planning and management of this vast acreage, is difficult.

Forest land can be managed primarily to exploit [make use of] its material resources—its timber crop, grazing lands, minerals, water supply, and hydroelectric power. Or it can be given over to mass recreation—summer and winter sports, camping, picnicking, and resorts. Or it can be preserved for essentially spiritual values—a wilderness retreat from frantic city life.

Management must decide between the competing demands on the forests. Which uses should be favored? How are local needs to be balanced against broader interests? Who is to have the benefit of the economic resources and on what terms? How are the conflicting claims of fishermen, skiers, hunters, motorboat enthusiasts, and sightseers to be satisfied? Should the needs of the future outweigh the demands of today? How to make such decisions—and similar decisions in every area of public ownership—is a major problem for democratic government.

Today, government is so complex that it is often impossible for the people, or their elected representatives in Congress, to be informed of the issues. Bureaucracies grow up to do the work of management and planning and to make vital decisions, insulated from the voice of the people. In large part, the power to create basic policy for the publicly owned forests has fallen to small groups of bureaucrats. They make bitterly controversial

decisions, choices between basic values, with little or no outside check.

In a democracy, laws and policies should be made in public by elected officials. But today, Congress has delegated many of its legislative powers to specialized agencies whose officials are not elected or directly controlled by the people. For example, control of the nation's forest land has been turned over to three executive agencies: the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, and the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management in the Department of the Interior.

The Forest Service administers all public lands reserved as national forests. The National Park Service takes care of areas of special scenic and historic importance, including parks, monuments, and battlefields. The Bureau of Land Management controls great stretches of public land, including forests on the West Coast and in Alaska. Congress has given each of these agencies wide legislative and policy-making powers.

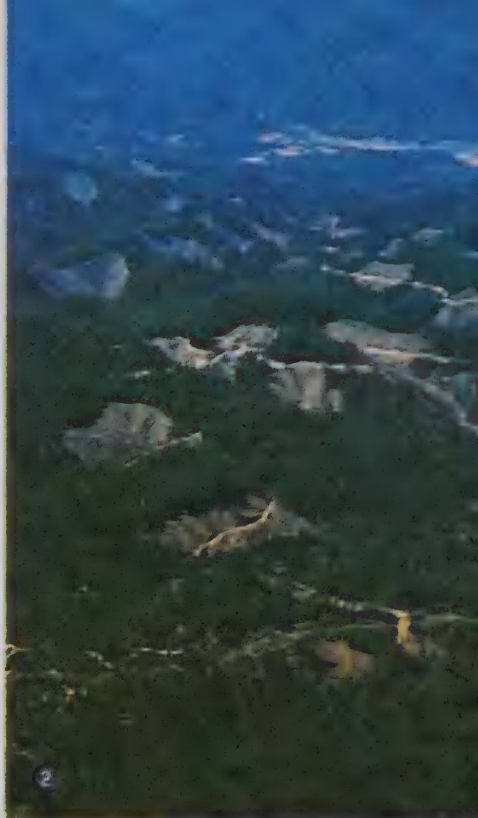
The basic charter of the Forest Service is a law that was passed in 1960 and declares:

"It is the policy of Congress that the national forests are established . . . for outdoor recreation, range, timber, watershed, and wildlife and fish purposes . . . The Secretary of Agriculture is . . . directed to develop . . . the national forests for multiple use. . . . In the administration of the national forests due consideration shall be given to the relative values of the various resources in particular areas. . . ."

In addition, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to sell timber in the national forests "for the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber and promoting the younger growth." He can also set aside areas for town sites. He may permit the use of national forest land for hotels, resorts, summer homes, stores, or commercial, industrial, or public buildings as long as this does not prevent the general public "from the enjoyment of the natural, scenic, recreational, and other aspects of the national forests." When he finds that lands are "chiefly valuable for agriculture," he may open them up for settlement at his discretion. He may permit roads and railroads. And he may permit the use of rights of way for electrical plants, power lines, radio and television facilities, dams, ditches, canals, and reservoirs.

The standards Congress has used to delegate authority over the forests are so general, so broad, and so vague that they represent a turnover of almost all responsibility. "Multiple use" does mean that the forests cannot be used for just one purpose.

► What danger, if any, do you see in giving power to make such important decisions to appointed officials?





For what purposes should we use the national forests?



But the decision on just how they are to be used is left to others. Congress has told the Forest Service "to meet the needs of the American people," but it has left it entirely up to the Service to determine what those needs are.

This transfer of authority from Congress to executive agencies raises some very important questions. Are the decisions of the agencies made openly or in private? Are they made after careful thought and discussion? Does the public have a chance to participate? Is there any check or review of what is decided? Answers to these questions indicate just how much control the people have over the land they own.

The forest agencies have adopted elaborate procedures to carry out their jobs. Decisions are checked and rechecked. But almost all the decisions are made within the agencies themselves. There is no participation by the public or any review beyond the Secretaries of Agriculture or Interior.

In the Forest Service, specific decisions usually follow an upward route from local officials who make the proposals, through review at a regional level, to final approval in Washington. If the decision requires funds, it will also be considered by budget officials in the Department of Agriculture, by the Budget Bureau, and finally, by Congress.

Throughout this activity there are outside influences of varying importance. Local rangers are officially encouraged to participate in local civic events and to discuss the Service plans on the local level. There are informal contacts with representatives of organizations, members of Congress, public officials, and interested citizens who write in. But none of the three agencies provides an opportunity for the general public to participate in the decision-making or even to be heard. And there is no way for the public to introduce projects of its own.

Bureaucracies like the forest agencies are an unavoidable development in our complex society. Neither the people nor the Congress can cope with the detailed problems of each specialized area of government. But bureaucratic government conflicts with the idea of representative democracy, since decisions are made *for* the people's benefit, but they are not made *by* the people.

FOR THOUGHT:

Should appointed officials have decision-making power as great as that described in this article?

47 DECISION-MAKING: THE JUDGES

Legislators and judges make political decisions in different settings. Congressmen must be far more responsive to voters than judges. They must listen to the demands of voters in letters, to appeals of lobbyists, to the resolutions passed by interest groups, and to the opinions of newspaper, radio, magazine, and television commentators. When many of these people support a single position, legislators must often pass a law to satisfy them. If they do not, they will risk defeat at the polls.

All federal judges, however, have lifetime appointments except in unusual cases. There are three major groups of federal courts. The nation has 89 District Courts to decide cases between citizens of different states and cases involving crimes against the United States. At the next level are eleven Courts of Appeals, each with from three to nine judges who hear cases, originally tried in the District Courts, but appealed by the loser to a higher court. Finally, there is the Supreme Court, where nine judges have the last word about the proper interpretation of the law.

None of these judges needs to feel directly responsible to the demands of voters or to the wishes of interest groups. Unlike congressmen, judges do not make new laws; they only interpret laws which have already been passed or apply a general law to a particular case. The Supreme Court, for example, must decide whether a law is constitutional. But the Constitution contains only 7,000 words and is written in very general terms. Most laws passed by Congress also contain general language. This condition forces judges to decide whether a particular case falls under the words of a general law. Usually judges look for precedents or examples in similar cases in the past. Often they can find precedents to support opposite opinions. They must then decide which precedents to follow. This decision often reflects a judge's own values and goals. For this reason, some authorities claim that judges have so much power that they actually do make laws.

Federal judges hold their positions during good behavior for life. All of them are trained lawyers; most are between 40 and 60 years of age when they are appointed. Federal courts are filled with judges in their sixties and seventies who often hold conservative views. When a federal judge dies or retires, the Presi-

dent appoints his successor with the consent of the Senate. The President naturally tries to appoint men who agree with the administration's point of view. In this way, the attitudes of the court change slowly. As a result, what the court says is the law changes slowly too.

The reading which follows, written by Justice William J. Brennan of the Supreme Court, describes the way in which the Supreme Court makes decisions. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. How does the Supreme Court decide whether to hear a case?
2. How does the Court decide a case? Do the judges seem to use a rational decision-making process such as the one described on pages 207–208?

Adapted from *The New York Times Magazine*, October 6, 1963, © 1963 by The New York Times Company.
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The Court decided *Arizona v. California* et al., June 3, 1963. Congress, in the Boulder Canyon Project Act, had apportioned the use of Colorado River waters among several states. The Court clarified that act.

In *Hawaii v. Gordon*, the state sued the U.S. for the return of certain lands in Hawaii. The Supreme Court dismissed the complaint, April 29, 1963.

A calendar is a list of cases to be tried in court.

Inside View of the High Court

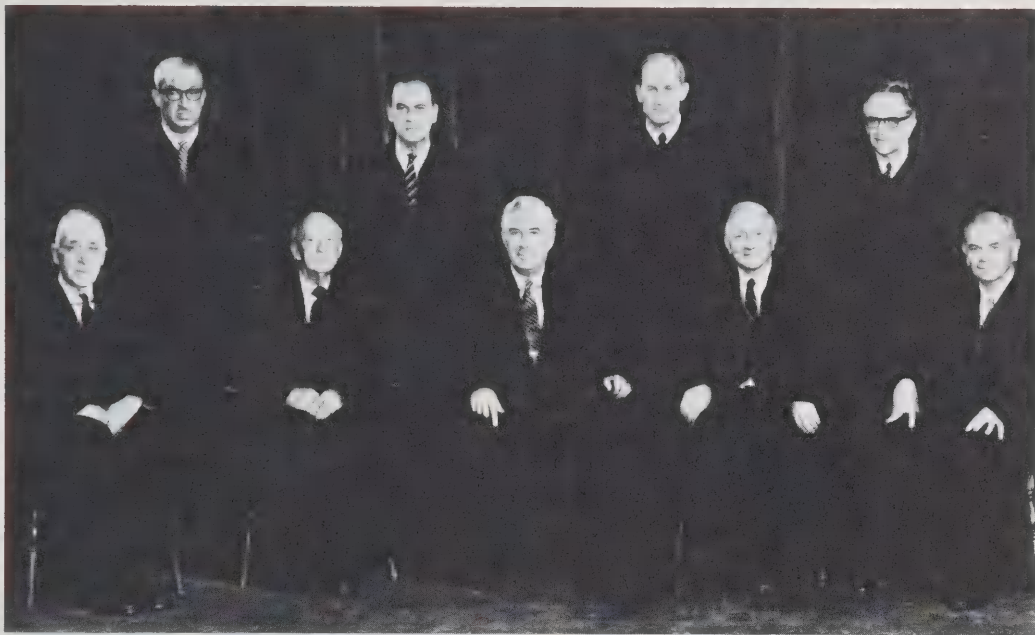
Supreme Court cases are usually one of three kinds. There are cases of “original” action. These are brought directly in the Court by one state against another state or states, or between a state or states and the Federal Government. Only a handful of such cases arise each year, but they are an important handful. One example of this type of case was the contest between Arizona and California over the waters of the lower basin of the Colorado River. Another was the contest between the Federal Government and the state of Hawaii over the ownership of lands in Hawaii.

The second kind of case asks the Supreme Court to review the decisions of a federal Court of Appeals or a federal District Court.

The third kind of case comes from a state court. The Supreme Court may review the decisions of the highest court in any of the states if that decision has to do with a federal question.

How is it possible for the Supreme Court to handle so many cases? The answer is that we screen them and select only those which in our judgment, raise the most important and far-reaching questions. In that way, we choose between 150 and 170 cases each year for decisions. It takes the votes of four of the nine Justices to put a case on the argument calendar. Those four votes are hard to come by—only an unusual case that raises a significant federal question gets them.

Each application for review is usually in the form of a short petition, accompanied by any opinions of the lower courts on



the case. The other side may also file a response, or reply. Both the petition and the response identify the federal questions involved and argue whether they were properly raised in the lower courts. Each Justice is given a copy of the petition and the response. Then, without consulting any of the others at this stage, he comes to a tentative conclusion about whether the case should be heard.

The first consultation about the case comes at the court conference when it is listed on the agenda [program] for discussion. We sit in conference almost every Friday during the term. Conferences begin at 10 in the morning and often continue until 6 in the evening, with a half-hour recess for lunch. Only the Justices are present. There are no law clerks, no stenographers, no secretaries, no messengers—just the nine of us . . .

The Chief Justice begins the discussion of each case. He then yields to the senior Associate Justice and the discussion goes down the line in order of seniority until each Justice has spoken. Voting goes the other way. The junior Justice votes first and voting then proceeds up the line to the Chief Justice, who votes last. When any case receives four votes, it is put on the oral argument list. . . .

A term is the period of time during which a court is in session. The annual term of the Supreme Court begins the first Monday in October and usually ends in June.

► What might happen if new members of an organization know how more experienced members will vote on an issue?

When a superior court gives a judgment different from that of a lower court, it is said to reverse the action of the lower court.

A brief is a written summary of a case.

A precedent is a previous case that serves as a model or an example.

Now, how do we handle the decisions we agree to review? On rare occasions, a previous decision by the Supreme Court makes it obvious that the judgment of the lower court must be reversed. In these instances, we overturn the lower court decision without any oral arguments. The case must be very obvious, however, because we do not ordinarily reverse a decision without oral argument. Indeed, oral argument is the usual practice.

Oral argument occurs about four months after the application for review has been granted. Each side is usually allowed one-half to one hour to present its case, depending upon the issues involved. Lawyers submit their records and briefs to the Court in time for each Justice to be given a set two or three weeks before the oral argument. Most of the Justices read the briefs before hearing the case. Some of us have a bench memorandum prepared. This memorandum digests the facts and the arguments of both sides, highlighting the matters about which we may wish to question the lawyers. . . .

We follow a schedule of two weeks of argument from Monday through Thursday, followed by two weeks of recess for opinion-writing and the study of petitions for review. The argued cases are discussed and voted on in a conference on the Friday following argument.

The Chief Justice decides who will write the Court's opinion in those cases in which he voted with the majority. The senior Associate Justice voting with the majority assigns the opinions in the other cases. The dissenting Justices agree among themselves who shall write the minority opinion. Of course, each Justice is free to write his own opinion. . . .

Writing an opinion always takes weeks and sometimes months, involving the most painstaking research and care. The research concentrates on legal materials—especially precedents. But Supreme Court cases often require that the Justices be familiar with history, economics, the social and other sciences. Authorities in these areas are consulted when it is necessary.

When the author of an opinion feels he has done the best job he can, he sends it to the print shop. Copies are then sent to each member of the Court. Now the author often discovers that his work has only begun. He receives a return—usually in writing—from each Justice who voted with him and sometimes from the Justices who voted the other way. His particular concern is whether those who voted with him still share his point of view and what they have to say about his proposed opinion.

Often some who voted with him at conference will reserve final judgment until they have a chance to see the dissenting opinion. It is a common experience that dissents change votes. I have had to convert more than one of my proposed majority opinions into a dissent before the final decision was announced. But I have also had the more satisfying experience of rewriting a dissent as a majority opinion for the Court.

The point of this procedure is that each Justice, unless he disqualifies himself in a particular case, passes on every piece of business coming to the Court. The Court does not function through committees or panels. Each Justice passes on each petition and each item. The method that the Justices use in meeting an enormous caseload varies. But there is one uniform rule: Judging is not delegated. Each Justice studies each case in detail. In a very real sense, each decision is an individual decision of every Justice. The process can be a lonely, troubling experience for human beings who are aware that their best may not be adequate to the challenge.

► What is your feeling when you are able to convert someone to your ideas?

FOR THOUGHT:

What are the advantages of giving judges important decision-making powers? the disadvantages?

48 DECISION-MAKING: HOW RATIONAL IS THE PROCESS?

Stating the Issue for Chapter 9 (pages 207–208) gave five steps in the decision-making process. They were:

1. Define the problem to be solved. This process includes understanding the problem thoroughly, deciding what goals should be reached, and recognizing the values implied in the decision.
2. State all possible ways to reach the goals.
3. Evaluate carefully the probable effects that each possible solution might have, discarding those that seem impractical or harmful in the process.

4. Choose the policy that appears likely to achieve most of the goals aimed for, remembering that no policy is perfect.
5. Review the choice to see whether the setting of the problem has changed and whether the goals and values of the decision-makers have remained the same.

This description implies that facts and logic alone guide decision-makers. Yet the President, congressmen, judges, government executives, bureaucrats, and party organizers are human beings like the rest of us. And like the rest of us, they sometimes allow personal considerations to influence decision-making. An example may make the point clear.

In March 1971, the Senate voted 51 to 46 to stop appropriating funds for the development of a supersonic transport plane known as the SST. The Boeing Company had begun building this plane several years before in Seattle. By March 1971, the government had already spent nearly one billion dollars on the design and development of the new airplane. Both the Soviet Union and a French-English group were also building supersonic transports.

In the United States, public opposition to the SST had grown rapidly for a number of reasons. Many people worried about the effect of the plane on the environment. Some scientists thought that vapor trails high in the air might increase the number of cases of skin cancer or affect the average temperature of the entire earth. They also pointed out that the noise made by flights faster than the speed of sound would prevent the use of the SST over populated areas. Thus, it would be used by only a relatively few wealthy people as they flew over the oceans. Many people also opposed spending hundreds of millions of dollars on an airplane when so many social problems remained unsolved, partly for lack of funds. Arguments such as these convinced the House of Representatives to defeat a new appropriations bill for the SST in mid-March 1971. The final battle then took place in the Senate.

The following account of the defeat of the SST appropriations bill in the Senate describes the maneuvering that took place. The article analyzes both the rational and irrational aspects of decision-making. As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. What was the problem involved in this incident? What alternatives did the Senate have in March 1971?
2. What were some of the arguments against spending more money to develop the SST?

3. In addition to rational arguments against the SST, what other factors may have influenced senators from states which raised tobacco, Senator Anderson from New Mexico, and Senator Smith from Maine to vote against the SST? Why did Senators Fong, Cook, and Dominick vote for it?

SST: The Public Cast the Deciding Vote

The New York Times,
March 28, 1971, © 1971 by
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The public finally caught up with the supersonic transport last week . . . The Senate voted 51-46 to cancel government support of the SST. . . .

It was widely agreed that the critical, possibly historic point about the SST debate was that a delicate question of public policy . . . had been . . . translated into a broadly political issue. . . . [Included] in the SST story [were] dire warnings about the challenge of international competition, still scarier warnings about the consequences (possibly including an increase in skin cancer) of flying large SST fleets in the upper atmosphere, and stark scenes of the full-fledged depression in the aerospace industry . . . that would get worse if the SST were killed.

The Soviet Union and a
French-English group were
also building supersonic
transports.

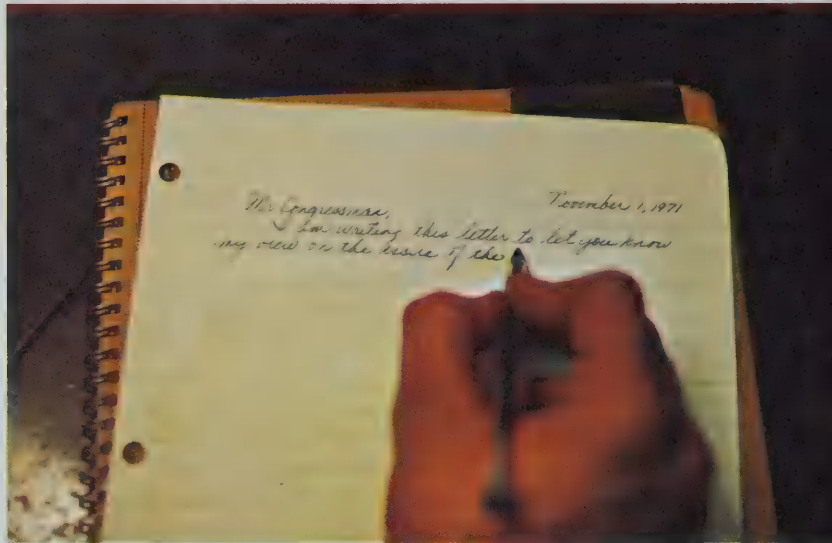
SST contractors and the machinists' union mounted a newspaper and radio advertising campaign to press the case for continuing. It was a blunt and possibly counterproductive piece of evidence of some of the personal interests involved.

The SST's opponents had always believed that the project would wither under the glare of public inspection. . . . When the battle was over, Senator William Proxmire, the Wisconsin Democrat who had led the long uphill battle, interpreted the outcome simply: "I think it was the people. There was enough publicity so that they got to know something about it."

[But] a prominent aerospace banker in New York, who thought the project should have been continued, . . . commented: "You don't ask the man in the street who doesn't have any expertise to make a decision on this kind of thing."

► To what degree ought
voters let experts make
decisions for them?

Underlying the disagreement on the SST was the shared sense that consulting the public had been decisive, and that a new model of decision-making had been fashioned in the process. As in all close political battles, however, the public pressures on the SST issue were played out in a subtle interplay of personalities and regional interests and issues.



Can your letter make a difference?

Cigarette advertising was banned from television after January 1, 1971. One of the leaders in getting the law passed was Senator Magnuson.

Pique means to be resentful about something.

In August 1970, the Senate voted to expand the Safeguard Antiballistic Missile program after long debate. The vote was 52-47.

It seemed at least ironic that while skin cancer fears weighed against the SST, Warren G. Magnuson, one of two Washington Democrats who pressed the pro-SST campaign in the Senate, was being opposed by tobacco-state colleagues who resented his past efforts to publicize the hazards of smoking and to ban cigarette advertisements from television.

Senator Clinton P. Anderson, a New Mexico Democrat and longtime SST supporter who . . . answered "no" to Wednesday's roll call, explained later: "I read my mail," which had included 78 telegrams and letters against the SST that morning, and eight in support. But pique was also involved. [Last year] Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, the other SST stalwart from the State of Washington, had [persuaded] Senator Anderson to make an embarrassing switch from his public opposition to the Safeguard Antiballistic Missile system. Further, the Nixon administration had recently cut back on money for the nuclear-powered rocket known as NERVA, being developed at the Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico. To a close associate, Senator Anderson commented later: "If I can't have NERVA, I don't see why Scoop should have the SST."

The most ironic of many little intrigues involved Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine. An opponent of

the SST last December, she . . . appeared to hold . . . the crucial undecided vote.

Shortly before noon, a hand-delivered letter from President Nixon informed Mrs. Smith that an earlier decision to close the Portsmouth (N.H.) Naval Shipyard employing thousands of her constituents was being rescinded. Mrs. Smith . . . promptly made public the letter, thus committing the President to keep the yard open. Then, having made clear that her vote was not for sale, she once again voted against the SST.

The result raised new questions about President Nixon's political judgment and political standing. Although SST had never been a central element in his program . . . he extended himself for it—inviting wavering senators to last-minute chats at the White House . . . Senators Hiram L. Fong of Hawaii, Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky, and Peter H. Dominick of Colorado were his only Republican converts, and there were still 17 out of 45 Republicans recorded against SST.

Support for the project was again concentrated in the aerospace belt running from the Far West through the Deep South, yet even there President Nixon failed . . . to pick up the new Democratic members on whom he hoped to build his “ideological majority” in the Senate. Seven of the eleven freshman senators voted “no.”

David H. Gambrell, the newly appointed Democratic senator from Georgia, made his decision against the SST sound easy. President Nixon, the young senator explained, has already cut back almost \$10 billion on programs that would have helped his constituents directly—including roads, “library development in rural Georgia,” and anti-pollution. As a result, “Georgia’s rivers and streams will continue to be underdeveloped and polluted,” he said. “I cannot agree to holding these programs back while we go ahead with the SST.”

There was also a hint . . . of fundamental changes in the nation’s mood. . . . President Kennedy had launched [the SST program] as a miniature version of the space race in 1963. . . . On Wednesday, the notion that . . . the Russian [supersonic transport] plane . . . was either a threat or a challenge seemed “ludicrous” to Illinois’s Republican Senator Charles H. Percy. . . . “To be stampeded into competition with the Russians,” he said, would be “foolish” and “irrational.” . . .

To the SST proponents [supporters], the outcome signals a dangerous rebellion against technology, even knowledge. To the winners, it seemed a turning point in the struggle of people against lobbies, and man against his machines.

President Nixon hoped to build a majority in the Senate of conservative senators from both political parties.

► If you were the President, in what order would you list national priorities?

FOR THOUGHT:

To what extent do you think that prejudices, personal feelings, pressure from colleagues, and similar factors influence decision-making?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 9

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 9A: Analysis of Senate folkways (individual)

Reading 11 in the **Book of Readings** describes the informal folkways of the United States Senate. After reading this selection, analyze the effectiveness of Senate action by answering the questions in the Study Guide accompanying this reading.

Activity 9B: Interpreting cartoons (individual or group)

Reading 12 in the **Book of Readings** contains a number of political cartoons. Each cartoon illustrates one aspect of government decision-making. Classify the cartoons using the accompanying Study Guide. If you wish, draw or find additional cartoons to be included in this activity.

Activity 9C: Observation of local political decision-making (individual or group)

Arrange to visit a local political decision-maker or decision-making body and spend the day observing the decision-making process. Then write a report in which you describe and analyze what you observe.

Activity 9D: Comparing two cases in decision-making (individual)

Reading 13 in the **Book of Readings** presents two different examples of decision-making in American government. After reading them, write a short essay in which you compare and contrast these two dissimilar case studies in decision-making.

Activity 9E: Simulation exercise in decision-making by a civil servant (individual or group)

Reading 14 in the **Book of Readings** describes the pressures that a fictional civil servant might face as he makes a political decision. List these pressures in order, from the ones you think are most important to those which are least important. Then, as a result of this analysis, tell what decision you would make.

Decision-Making in the Soviet Union

STATING THE ISSUE

CHAPTER

10

In every authoritarian society, a small group of key decision-makers hold ultimate power. No private citizen, group, or organization can challenge them or expose errors that they make. In the Soviet Union this small power elite makes its decisions in secret. No outsider knows exactly what happens.

Western writers constantly make educated guesses about how officials in the Soviet political system make decisions. They piece together reports from official Soviet publications, the speculations of Kremlinologists who make a career of watching what happens in Moscow, and any other information which becomes available. But no Western scholar ever feels confident that he knows as much about the decision-making process in the Soviet Union as in the United States.

A small group of Communist Party leaders make the key decisions. The formal government, headed by the Supreme Soviet, then ratifies these decisions. The process of ratification gives a sense of participation to many Soviet citizens. It also helps to build support for policies that the Party has decided to adopt. Each year more than a million people are deputies to the thousands of Soviets which exist on the national, republic, and local level. Having large numbers of citizens attend Soviets probably helps to build a firm base of support for party policy in the society.

Chapter 10 describes decision-making in the Soviet Union. It begins with a description of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and several analyses of how the decision to invade may have been made. It then describes a session of the Supreme

Soviet to provide a contrast with the way in which the United States Congress operates. The chapter closes with a description of decision-making in a Soviet court. All four readings focus on the way in which a monistic, authoritarian society decides political issues.

49 THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In the fall of 1968, newspapers all over the world suddenly announced that about 175,000 troops from the Soviet Union and four East European countries had invaded Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia had a Communist government. So did all of the nations who sent their soldiers across its borders. The world recalled a similar incident in 1956 when Soviet troops had invaded Hungary, another Communist nation, to stamp out an independence movement which had been developing there.

Everyone began to wonder what the motives of the Soviet Union could be. Who had decided to send airplanes, tanks, armored cars, and foot soldiers onto the soil of a neighboring—and theoretically allied—nation? How had this decision been made? Why had so many Czechoslovaks resisted to the point that some were killed by Soviet soldiers?

Readings 49 and 50 contain accounts from Western sources of what happened. Reading 49 traces the events which led to Soviet intervention. Then it describes the invasion itself. Reading 50 consists of various interpretations of what may have happened in Moscow. As you read the first part of this analysis, think about the following questions:

1. What happened in Czechoslovakia which may have seemed to threaten the Soviet Union?
2. What did the Soviet Union do? What were its objectives?

Newsweek, September 2,
1968, pp. 12-13. Copyright
Newsweek, Inc., 1968.

Countdown

October 31, 1967—Prague Students Explode. Defying police, university students march on the offices of President Antonin Novotny to demand better living conditions.

December 8—Brezhnev Flies to Prague. In a meeting with the Presidium of the Czech Communist Party, the Soviet leader seeks to persuade its members to keep Novotny in power.

January 5, 1968—Novotny's Downfall Begins. Ousted from his real power base—his job as Secretary of the Czech Communist Party—Novotny is replaced in that office by Alexander Dubcek.

January 29—Dubcek Flies to Moscow. Assuring the Kremlin of his loyalty to the Soviet alliance, the Czechoslovak leader nonetheless begins weeding Stalinists out of the Party and the government.

February 25—General Jan Sejna, a Senior Czech Political Officer, Defects to the West. His flight leads to the revelation that he and other Stalinist army officers had planned a military coup to prevent Novotny's removal from power.

March 21—Novotny Resigns as President. Hoping to appease Moscow, the Czechs replace him with General Ludvik Svoboda, who fought alongside the Russians in World War II.

March 23—Eastern European Summit Meeting in Dresden. Summoned to explain Czech liberalization, Dubcek reassures the leaders of the other Communist nations that Czechoslovakia "stands firmly" with them. Unconvinced, the East German press begins savage attacks on Czech leaders.

April 5—Dubcek Unveils His "Action Program." This calls for free speech, a free press, and increased contacts with the West. Investigations into the 1948 death of Czech Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk begin and the Czech press implicates the Soviets.

May 17—Kosygin Flies to Prague. At his insistence, the Dubcek regime agrees to allow Warsaw Pact forces to enter Czechoslovakia for "joint maneuvers."

June 27—Czech Liberals Issue "The Manifesto of 2,000 Words." Though the Dubcek regime disowns the manifesto, its suggestions that the public spur Dubcek to faster reform through strikes and demonstrations shock Moscow.

July 14—Warsaw Pact Summit. Meeting without Dubcek, who refuses to attend, Soviet leaders and their hard-line allies implicitly threaten Prague with military intervention. Soviet troops fail to leave Czechoslovakia after the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact maneuvers.

In a summit meeting, the highest official represents his country.

Communists won heavily in the Czech elections of 1946. Twelve anti-Communist cabinet ministers resigned in 1948, but Masaryk did not. He was found dead. It seemed a suicide, but some suspected murder.

Members of the Warsaw Pact are Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.

Several Prague papers published the manifesto, and 70 public figures signed it. It was an appeal to the Party to "prove its worth" by opposing conservative forces.

A maverick is an independent individual who refuses to conform to the group.

Ceausescu and Tito are Communists, but they are mavericks who shun Soviet political and economic control. Both leaders condemned the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Newsweek, September 2, 1968, pp. 13–16. Copyright Newsweek, Inc., 1968.

A blitzkrieg is a surprise attack by air and ground forces.

In a battle, pincers are two forces which are driven one on each side of an enemy. They close on the enemy like two claws.

July 29—Czech and Soviet Leaders Meet at Cierna. In four days of heated debate, Dubcek and his Presidium defend liberalization before virtually the entire Soviet Politburo. They appear to convince the Soviets that the Czechoslovak Party will not lose control over reforms.

August 3—Dubcek Meets Warsaw Pact Leaders at Bratislava. A joint declaration citing the “unity” of the Communist nations makes the possibility of military action seem more remote. Soviet troops withdraw from Czechoslovakia.

August 9—Yugoslavia’s Tito Gets Ovation in Prague. Tito seeks to bolster Czech independence. He is followed a few days later by fellow maverick, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania.

August 12—Walter Ulbricht Visits Czechoslovakia. After a chilly reception from the Czechs, the East German leader fails to get assurances that the Dubcek government will slow down liberalization.

August 14—Soviet Press Resumes Attacks on Dubcek. Charging that the Czech leadership is unable or unwilling to “rebuff” subversive plotters, Pravda says that the “enemies of socialism are dreaming of a restoration of the old bourgeois order.”

August 20—Warsaw Pact troops invade Czechoslovakia.

Hold Fast

It all went off like a textbook blitzkrieg. Moving under cover of darkness, . . . columns of fast T-55 and T-62 medium tanks sped past the apricot and cherry orchards of the Elbe Valley and closed in on Prague. Other units, slicing across Bohemia, sealed the border between Czechoslovakia and West Germany. Still others . . . knifed into Slovakia from the western Ukraine, southern Poland, and northern Hungary. Overhead, giant transport planes . . . deposited crack units just outside Prague. Long before the chilly dawn . . . the brutally efficient pincers had deployed 175,000 foreign troops—most of them Russians—on Czechoslovakian soil . . .

At first, the Czechoslovaks reacted with uncontrolled anguish. Tens of thousands of people . . . spilled into the streets, hurling insults at the hulking, impersonal tanks and arguing with the Russians who occasionally stuck their heads through the turret hatches. In Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, a group of stu-



dents spotted some Hungarian tankers and asked them—in fluent Hungarian—why they, who had seen their own country so brutally suppressed by Russia in 1956, had joined in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. “The Hungarians seemed very embarrassed to be there,” said one eyewitness. “They just turned away.” As tank after tank roared by, many women and children broke down. “You could see from their faces that they were crying,” recalled a West German tourist later in the week. “But you couldn’t hear them. All you could hear were the tanks. . . .”

The bitterest fighting swirled around the seven-story building that housed Radio Prague . . . A large crowd of students dragged together trolley cars, trucks, and private autos and threw up a giant barricade. . . . In the early hours of the morning, an announcer at the station broadcast the news of the Soviet invasion. Speaking in a husky voice that often cracked with emotion, he

Russian tanks entered Hungary, shooting and killing civilians, in November 1956. Russia crushed Hungary’s revolt and set up a puppet regime. Between 2500 and 3000 people died and, within a year, 175,000 Hungarians had fled to Austria.

Radio Prague had been a leader of liberal reform.

When radio signals are jammed, they cannot be understood. Other signals are broadcast as interference.

An ominous sign foretells evil or bad luck.

See page 258 for information about the Cierna conference.

relayed an appeal from Dubcek not to resist the Russians. "We are incapable of defending the borders," he said. "Carry out passive resistance." Then, at 6:30 A.M., came the frantic statement: "We are being jammed . . . we are being jammed . . . Try and hear us where you can." At 7:36, as the sound of gunfire cracked over the air, the announcer said: "We are still here. But when you hear the national anthem, you will know it is all over." A few minutes later, the station put on a recording of the national anthem. And with that, Radio Prague went dead. Clustered around radios in hotel lobbies or transistors on street corners, the Czechs heard the ominous silence—and wept. . . .

From the military point of view, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia had gone off without a hitch. Twelve Soviet divisions, and elements of one East German division and one Polish division, together with token contingents from Bulgaria and Hungary, had brilliantly executed what clearly had been a longstanding contingency plan. Throughout the early hours of the operation, for instance, some 250 transport planes shuttled in and out of Prague's two airports like clockwork. The first Soviet soldiers to disembark secured the airports and the highways leading to the capital as well as the crucial bridges over the Vltava. Then columns struck out for other key spots in the city. One of them . . . headed straight for the huge Central Committee headquarters on the edge of the Vltava.

Inside the Central Committee building, Alexander Dubcek, the leader of the Czechoslovakian reformation and the man whose rise to power had spurred Moscow to intervene in Czech affairs—was holding an emergency session of the ruling Presidium. Dubcek had convened the group . . . to discuss an ominous letter he had just received from Soviet Communist Party boss Leonid Brezhnev . . . The Brezhnev note . . . angrily accused Dubcek of reneging on the agreements reached between Czech and Soviet leaders at Cierna in July. Nonetheless, when the news came that Soviet armored columns were pouring over the Czechoslovakian border, Dubcek was thunderstruck . . .

In a sense, Dubcek had every reason to be surprised. For although the possibility of occupying Czechoslovakia had been seriously debated in the Kremlin for weeks, the decision to move probably was taken less than two days before the actual invasion—and then perhaps cleared with a special session of the Soviet Central Committee. The strongest evidence of the last-minute nature of the Soviet decision seemed to lie in the uncharacteristic failure of the Russians to make adequate political preparations for intervention in Czechoslovakia. At the



► The students who threw up these barricades knew that Russian soldiers in the tanks could easily kill them and might be ordered to do so. They also knew that the barricades could not stop the invasion of their country. Why do you think these students were willing to risk their lives in these circumstances?



Vehemently means with great force and feeling.

United Nations, for example, Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik found himself confronted by Jan Muzik, the Czechoslovak delegate, who firmly denied Moscow's flimsy claim that "government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic" had requested armed intervention by its Warsaw Pact allies in order to head off a "counter-revolution." . . . After one Security Council session, [Malik] was overheard complaining vehemently to an aide: "Couldn't they have organized some kind of a government and proclaimed that Muzik was no longer the Czech representative? How could they allow a situation where I must face this man here?"

An ultimatum is the last proposal or demand. If it is rejected, force or direct action will follow.

By far the most dramatic act of defiance came late in the week when Communist Party members from all over the country descended on Prague to convene . . . an extraordinary Party Congress originally scheduled for September 9. . . . More than 1,200 of the 1,540 elected delegates made their way around Russian roadblocks to rendezvous near the capital. From there they moved on to a . . . Prague suburb where, in secret session, they elected a Presidium with Dubcek at its head, and a new Central Committee—both entirely composed of liberals . . . The Congress also issued an ultimatum to the Russian invaders to leave the country or face a general strike. And to demonstrate their ability to carry out that threat, the delegates ordered a one-hour work stoppage the following day.

► Why do you think the Czechs organized a general strike instead of the sort of demonstration that Americans used to protest President Nixon's decision about Cambodia?

The result must have been sobering to the Russians. At noon on the appointed day, everyone in Prague stopped work for an hour, and for the first time since the invasion Wenceslaus Square was empty save for Russian tanks . . . Every wall and window in Prague was plastered with posters and slogans denouncing the Russians and supporting Dubcek. In some places, the word "Zradci" (Traitors) appeared and under it the names of Bilak, Kolder, Indra and other conservatives who were collaborating with the Russians. Elsewhere, Czechs had scrawled the word "Pozor" (Attention) and then listed the license numbers of cars being used by Soviet secret police to round up Czech liberals. To confuse the Soviets, Czechs ran around the city obliterating—or switching—street signs. And underground radio transmitters frantically urged all Czechoslovak patriots to do everything in their power to block a Soviet train bringing radio-jamming equipment into the country. According to one report, trainmen en route ripped out large sections of track to keep the train from passing.

Oddly, in the face of all this, there was still hope that some compromise could be worked out with the Russians. Two days

after the occupation, President Svoboda flew off to Moscow to confer directly with Soviet leaders. He led a seven-man delegation composed of both pro-Dubcek and anti-Dubcek Communists—a balance that perhaps suggested the lines a compromise might follow. Before leaving Prague, Svoboda broadcast an appeal over a resistance radio station for “prudence” in dealing with the Russians. And upon his arrival in Moscow, the Czechoslovak President, with savage irony, was given a 21-gun salute and full honors before being hustled off to the Kremlin.

To act with prudence is to exercise caution and restraint.

FOR THOUGHT:

What does the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other Communist nations suggest about the way in which a powerful authoritarian state may treat its weaker allies who seem to be setting their own courses?

50 THE DECISION TO INVADE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Within days after United States troops moved into Cambodia, American media carried accounts of how the decision to cross the border had been made. The accounts were incomplete and perhaps not entirely accurate, but they did appear quickly and in a number of places. News analysts gave the names of leaders who had taken part in the decision-making process. They described the roles that various individuals played, the factors behind some of the decisions, and the alternative plans that had been rejected. Opponents of the President attacked the decision and his supporters defended it. Demonstrations took place, both in opposition to and support of the United States role in Cambodia. Citizens and public officials took part in debates and discussions about the Vietnam war.

The Soviet decision-making process is not open to similar examination. One man or a few men in top party positions make major political decisions, such as to the one to invade Czechoslovakia. Usually the Supreme Soviet dutifully ratifies the decision, often months after it has been made. Anyone who

opposes such decisions keeps silent, at least in public. A single version of the event appears in all the media.

Sovietologists play expert guessing games about the secret workings of the Communist Party. They begin with detailed knowledge of the most important members of the power elite. Then they gather all the facts they can from official sources, reliable informers, witnesses, participants, and colleagues. They listen carefully to rumors and gossip in Moscow and other Soviet cities. They consider the personalities of Soviet leaders, their positions on similar questions in the past, and their relative power within the Party. All the data are pieces of a puzzle. The expert tries to put together the puzzle to get a true picture of what happened.

Reading 50 shows how two reporters pieced the puzzle together. Read one of the accounts. Think about these questions:

1. According to these accounts, why did the invasion of Czechoslovakia take place?
2. How much of the accounts in this reading seem to be based on fact? How much on speculation or rumor?

The New York Times,
August 22, 1968, p. 17,
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Kremlin's Hawks Won Debate

Invasion Came After Nine-Month Period of Indecision

Nine months of sharp debate resulting in indecisiveness in the Soviet Politburo, observers believe, preceded the Kremlin's decision this week to invade Czechoslovakia.

If the Moscow hawks had had their way, Czechoslovakia's democratic development would have been stopped long ago, even before Antonin Novotny lost power last January as dictator in Prague. . . .

Debates in the Soviet Politburo are surrounded with the greatest secrecy to project an image of complete unanimity. On the basis of the fragmentary information available, Western analysts believe that [at least four Politburo members were

hawks on the Czechoslovakia issue. They view Premier Alexei N. Kosygin as one of the chief doves. They think that party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev was a centrist, shifting between camps and trying to avoid too extreme a position.]. . .

Evidence of high-level Soviet uncertainty about Czechoslovakia appeared as early as last December, when Mr. Brezhnev made a sudden trip to Prague in answer to then President Novotny's appeal for help against his enemies.

A tough Soviet line then would probably have been enough to stop the revolution for a time at least. But instead it soon became apparent that Mr. Brezhnev was authorized only to try to persuade Prague leaders.

Mr. Brezhnev finally wound up his mission by in effect throwing up his hands and telling the Czechoslovak party chiefs, "This is your affair," a signal that Moscow would not veto Mr. Novotny's ouster.

In the early months of this year, after Alexander Dubcek took power, the Soviet leadership appeared to blow hot and cold. Mr. Brezhnev, for example, visited Czechoslovakia last February and participated in the ceremonies marking the 20th anniversary of the Communist take-over. But this expression of seeming friendliness was balanced in the same period by the very guarded Soviet press treatment of the first stages of the democratization process.

Even in these first months there were rumors of Soviet economic sanctions, but if there were any stoppages of essential Soviet supplies, they were brief and in no way interfered with the normal operation of the Czechoslovak economy.

Alarm about Prague developments increased visibly in Moscow in the spring, but the Politburo moderates apparently kept on insisting that the Dubcek leadership had to be given a chance to keep its word. At the Dresden conference last March, as well as during Premier Kosygin's "rest cure" at Karlovy Vary last May and on other occasions, Mr. Dubcek and his colleagues appeared to be able to allay Kremlin alarm by promising that the reforms they were carrying out would not be allowed to overstep limits acceptable to Moscow.

In the Kremlin compromises last spring, which prevented more vigorous action then, an important role was apparently played by Czechoslovakia's agreement to permit Warsaw Pact military exercises on its territory in June. In retrospect, it appears that the legalized entry of Soviet troops was insurance demanded by the Kremlin hard-liners.

One nation may force another to do its bidding with economic sanctions. Such sanctions may be withholding loans, cutting off supplies, and limiting trade.

Temporizing means drawing out negotiations so as to gain time.

The New York Times,
August 25, 1968, IV, p. 1,
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Hawks are hard-liners. Often they are militant and endorse war as a means of settling a dispute. Doves support negotiation and compromise to preserve peace.

Even the Warsaw Pact ultimatum to Czechoslovakia last month, which set the political stage for the invasion, showed signs of being a compromise document. It stressed that the Soviet Union was well aware of Czechoslovakia's sovereign rights and had no intention of interfering in such purely internal matters as economic reforms.

What happened in the last few days to produce the decision by the Soviet Politburo to invade Czechoslovakia cannot be known. But the record of the preceding nine months was one of temporizing, of unwillingness to take drastic action, and of searches for acceptable compromises, hallmarks of committee rule.

Why Did Moscow Switch?

Nothing of fundamental importance changed in Czechoslovakia between the night of August 3 and the night of August 20.

Yet on the first night the Soviet Union and her four most devoted European allies signed the Bratislava declaration, which implicitly conceded Czechoslovakia's right to her reform by readmitting Prague into the Communist family after weeks of military threats and heated polemics. On the second night the Russians and their friends overran and occupied Czechoslovakia.

What caused the Russians to change their minds?

It wasn't anything that happened in Prague, if the general assumption of observers in Moscow and Eastern Europe is correct. Nor is the shift being attributed here to any fundamental change in the Soviet assessment of the events in Czechoslovakia. The change, it is assumed, came in the positions of individual members of the Soviet leadership. Presumably some doves flew into the hawks' nest.

Czechoslovaks with intimate knowledge of the negotiations last month at Cierna between the Soviet Politburo and the Czechoslovak party Presidium came away convinced that the Politburo was split between those who wanted to stamp out Czechoslovak democratization at all cost and those who wanted to kill it by slow attrition.

The "moderates" won out in Cierna, but indications are that the Bratislava conference two days later . . . proved difficult. At least two of the other party chiefs—Wladyslaw Gomulka of

Poland and Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria—[were] . . . shocked [to learn] upon arrival in Bratislava that the “hard line” toward Czechoslovakia that they favored had been abandoned. It was not known whether the most ferocious anti-Czechoslovak party leader—Walter Ulbricht of East Germany—was also caught unawares by the Bratislava shift, but there was no doubt that he opposed it violently.

The Czechoslovak party leader, Alexander Dubcek, had occasion to gauge the depth of Ulbricht’s discontent on August 12, when the two met at . . . the formerly elegant spa of Karlovy Vary. The meeting, according to reliable accounts, was an angry dialogue of the deaf. Ulbricht demanded that Dubcek live up to the obligations he had assumed in Bratislava to safeguard Communism and fulfill his international duties. Dubcek told his guest to observe the section of the statement that guaranteed all Communist parties against interference in their affairs from any quarter.

The tragedy that befell Czechoslovakia Tuesday night began to take shape in the minds of many well-informed Czechoslovaks immediately after the Dubcek-Ulbricht meeting. Those who knew most about the course of the conversation were most secretive about the cause of their anxiety, but they expressed a sense of fear nonetheless.

Dubcek had stood as firm as he had at Cierna and Bratislava, but his steadfastness was not greeted by his supporters with the same elation that had followed the earlier confrontations. . . .

Liberals felt under pressure from the leadership and from the conservatives. The party Presidium issued a statement condemning liberal attacks on conservatism. Pressure on journalists mounted not to make too free a use of their freedom to criticize.

Conservatives who had been considered lame ducks, hanging on to their posts until the party congress that was to have opened September 9 would sweep them into oblivion, bestirred themselves into renewed activity.

Oldrich Svestka, conservative Presidium member and editor of the central party daily newspaper *Rude Pravo*, suddenly felt strong enough to purge his liberal deputies and to persuade the unwilling authorities to ban from the country the foreign correspondent who reported the purge.

A belief took hold, and cannot be discounted on the basis of available information, that Ulbricht brought ominous news, perhaps an ultimatum, to Karlovy Vary. Throughout the Communist camp Ulbricht is viewed as the most doctrinaire and aggres-

Lame ducks are elected officials continuing to hold office during the period between defeat for reelection and inauguration of a successor.

sive leader. In the absence of bold leadership in the Kremlin, he has consistently been suspected by knowledgeable Communists of using his craft and guile to lead the Soviet Union toward his goals.

Ulbricht's chief supporter in the Kremlin is assumed to be Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet party. The Czechoslovaks found Brezhnev on the moderate side at Cierna.

Was his the crucial shift? Did the leader of the Soviet party listen to the counsel of his German ally and take the step that brought tragedy to Czechoslovakia and disaster to Soviet fame and position in the world among Communists and non-Communists alike?

FOR THOUGHT:

How can the leaders of the Soviet Union keep their decision-making process so well hidden from public view?

51 DECISION-MAKING IN THE SUPREME SOVIET

The constitution of the Soviet Union gives the Supreme Soviet a place in the government similar to the one which the American Constitution gives to Congress. In theory, both the Supreme Soviet and the Congress make the laws. Citizens elect representatives. In reality, however, the two legislative bodies have very different functions.

Readings 23 and 36 described the organization of the Supreme Soviet and the process by which its deputies were chosen. Reading 51 is an official report of the 1965 meeting of the Supreme Soviet. As you read, think about these questions:

1. For how many days did the session of the Supreme Soviet meet? How many important decisions did it make during this time?
2. Who initiated laws which were passed at this session? To what degree did proposed laws stir debate or discussion?

Supreme Soviet Meets; Podgorny Replaces Mikoyan

Izvestia, December 8, 9,
and 10, 1965. Translation
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The seventh session of the Sixth U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet opened December 7, 1965, at 10 A.M.

A meeting of the Council of the Union . . . was held in the Great Kremlin Palace.

A meeting of the Council of Nationalities . . . was held in the Kremlin Theater. . . .

At the separate meetings of the chambers, the agenda and the order in which the questions were to be considered were approved. . . .

The agenda consists of the following questions:

1. On the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966.
2. On the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1966 and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964 [that is, whether or not the 1964 budget went according to plan].
3. On ratification of decrees of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

At 11 A.M. a joint meeting of the Council of Nationalities and the Council of the Union . . . opened in the Great Kremlin Palace.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet heard a report . . . on the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966 and a report . . . on the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1966 and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964.

Then the chairman of the meeting announced the inquiries put by a group of deputies to the U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister:

On the course of the Twentieth Session of the UN General Assembly and its review of the Soviet Union's proposals for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and noninterference in the internal affairs of states . . . on the second conference of Asian and African countries and the Soviet Union's possible participation in it.

The chairman of the meeting stated that the inquiries would be transmitted to the U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs for a reply . . .

The second meeting of the Council of Nationalities . . . was held in the Great Kremlin Palace.

At the meeting Deputy M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Budget Committee of the Council of Nationalities, delivered the co-

report of the Budget Committee on the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966, on the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1966, and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964. . . .

The second meeting of the Council of the Union . . . was held in the Kremlin Theater.

At the meeting Deputy I. V. Kapotovov, member of the Budget Committee of the Council of the Union, gave the co-report of the Budget Committee on the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966, on the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1966, and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964. . . .

The seventh session of the Sixth U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet continued on December 8 in the Kremlin. . . .

Discussion of the reports on the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966, on the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1966, and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964 continued at the meeting. . . .

The seventh session of the Sixth U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet continued its work December 9 in the Kremlin. . . .

A second joint meeting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, under the chairmanship of Deputy J. V. Peive, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities, was held at 12:40 P.M. in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Comrade N. K. Baibakov, Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, delivered concluding remarks on the report on the state plan for development of the U.S.S.R. national economy in 1966. In a separate vote by chambers, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the law on the State Plan for Development of the U.S.S.R. National Economy in 1966.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet heard concluding remarks by Comrade V. F. Garbuzov, U.S.S.R. Minister of Finance, on the report on the U.S.S.R. state budget in 1966, and on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964. In a separate vote by chambers, the . . . Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the Law on the U.S.S.R. State Budget for 1966 and approved the report on fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. state budget for 1964.

Deputy M. P. Georgadze, Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, gave a report on the decrees submitted by the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme for ratification by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet ratified the decrees of the

Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and adopted the corresponding laws and resolutions.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet elected Comrade G. V. Kaznin a member of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court. . . .

On the representation of Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet appointed Comrade P. V. Kovanov Chairman of the U.S.S.R. People's Control Committee.

Because the C.P.S.U. [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Central Committee has considered it essential that Comrade A. N. Shelepin, as Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, should concentrate on the work in the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers submitted a proposal that he be relieved of the duties of Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution relieving Comrade A. N. Shelepin of the duties of Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

A third joint meeting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities . . . was held at 4 P.M. in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Deputy A. A. Gromyko, U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered a report in connection with the inquiries of deputies. . . .

On behalf of the foreign affairs committees of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, Deputy B. Ye. Paton submitted a draft declaration by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a resolution on the report of the U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs in reply to the deputies' inquiries and also the declaration on U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The chairman reported that government delegations from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Republic of Ghana were present at the meeting of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. The deputies warmly greeted the guests.

Then the floor was given to Deputy A. I. Mikoyan, who asked the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet to relieve him of the duties of Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, took note of Comrade A. I. Mikoyan's distinguished services to the Communist Party and the Soviet

state and on behalf of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee recommended that Comrade A. I. Mikoyan's request be satisfied; he also moved that he be elected a member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

On behalf of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev moved that Deputy N. V. Podgorny be elected to the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet complied with Deputy A. I. Mikoyan's request that he be relieved of the duties of Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and elected him a member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet elected Deputy N. V. Podgorny Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. . . .

Comrade N. V. Podgorny in his statement thanked the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet for its high trust.

The seventh session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has ended its work.

FOR THOUGHT:

How does a bill become a law in the Supreme Soviet? in the American Congress? What do the differences in law-making procedure reveal about the two political systems?

52 THE SOVIET JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The court system of the Soviet Union has undergone many changes since the 1917 revolution. The first decree issued by the revolutionary leaders contained provisions for establishing "revolutionary tribunals" whose task it was to see that the new government stayed in power. Under these provisions, police courts were used to rid the government of persons considered politically undesirable. During the regimes of both Lenin and Stalin, the police could make arrests and bring their prisoners to trial before police courts. But since the death of Stalin, the Soviet court system has been undergoing radical changes. Police courts were abolished in 1953. Professional

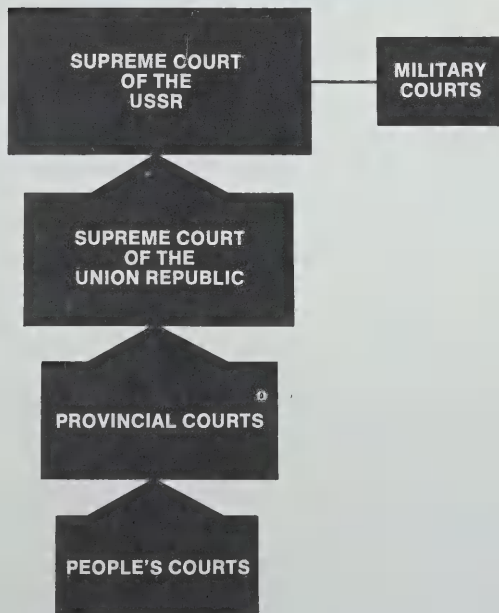
lawyers have been trained. Trial procedures have been improved, and a number of new procedures have been adopted to protect the rights of defendants.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviet Union's highest court. It serves as a court of appeal and review. Each union republic also has a supreme court that reviews judgments reached by the republic's lower courts. Below the supreme courts of the republics are the provincial courts. At the lowest level are the people's courts. The chart on this page diagrams the court system.

In most Soviet courts, cases are heard by a judge and two nonprofessionals called people's assessors. These people's assessors are elected by the citizenry. In theory, they share equal power with the judge, but in practice, they almost never disagree with the judge's decision.

Due to a shortage of trained professionals, Soviet judges are not required to have legal training, although most of them are trained to some extent. The higher the level of the court, the better the qualifications of the judges are likely to be.

THE SOVIET COURT SYSTEM



Reading 52 describes a case heard by the Supreme Court of the Russian Republic in 1966. The case involves two Soviet authors, A. D. Sinyavsky and Y. M. Daniel. They were tried in a small courtroom before a preselected audience. Only Soviet newsmen who had been invited were admitted. The Soviet press carried brief accounts noting the crimes the defendants were accused of and the action taken. They carried no details of the testimony. This reading is taken from a transcript of the trial, alleged to have been recorded in the courtroom, which was published in the Paris-based Polish magazine *Kultura*. This transcript was translated and republished in *The New York Times*. As you read, keep the following questions in mind:

1. What was the basis for the charges brought against Sinyavsky and Daniel?
2. On what did Sinyavsky and Daniel base their defense?

From *On Trial: Soviet State Versus "Abram Tertz" and "Nikolai Arzhak."* Translated and edited by Max Hayward in *The New York Times Magazine*. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. Copyright © 1966 by Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.

Subverting means undermining. A political subversive tries to overthrow a government by weakening its foundations.

Maligning means injuring a good name or reputation by spreading false or misleading statements.

Trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel

The trial opened on February 10 at 10 A.M. in the Moscow Oblast (province) Court, in a small hall seating 150–160 persons.

The Russian Supreme Court—under the chairmanship of L. N. Smirnov, sitting with N. A. Chechina and P. V. Sokolov, people's assessors—heard the case of A. D. Sinyavsky and Y. M. Daniel, accused under Section 1 of Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic, which says: "Agitation or propaganda, conducted with a view to subverting or weakening the Soviet regime or committing dangerous state crimes; the distribution for the said purposes of slanderous inventions maligning the Soviet political and social system, and also the distribution or preparation or harboring, for the said purposes, of literature of similar content are punishable by imprisonment from six months to seven years and exile from two to five years . . ."

The audience consists almost entirely of men. Entry is by special invitation cards (a different color used for each court session), which are checked twice, once at the building entrance, and again at the foot of the stairway leading to the courtroom. . . .

The accused are led in. They look as they would in everyday life, with no traces of their five-month detainment for investiga-

tion. Sinyavsky is thin, short, with a reddish, unkempt beard. He wears a snow-white nylon shirt under a black woolen sweater with a round collar. He looks like a gnome, or rather like a good-natured goblin. Daniel is tall, dark-haired, but growing bald, with a large, strong mouth, nervous lips, dressed in a cowboy shirt and a worn jacket. Behind each accused is an unarmed guard.

The prosecutor and counsel for the defense enter.

The court clerk says: "Please stand" and, after a short interval, adds loudly, with stress on the first word, "The court is in session."

The members of the court enter. First, Chechina, a thin woman wearing glasses, dressed in a simple dark suit; behind her, Smimov, a big man of fifty-eight, who walks with his head thrust forward in a bull-like manner, purposeful, like a man who is accustomed to exercise authority. Finally, Sokolov, a well-built, good-looking man of forty. . . .

The secretary of the court reads out the indictment accusing Sinyavsky and Daniel. The content of the indictment is briefly as follows:

The writings of a so-called Soviet literary underground have been widely distributed in the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries to discredit the Soviet people, our government, the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and its policies. Slandorous works of underground writers are being passed off by hostile propaganda as truthful accounts about the Soviet Union. Such works include the novels *The Trial Begins* and *Lyubimov* and the article "On Socialist Realism" by Abram Tertz; and the works *This is Moscow Speaking*, "Hands," "Atonement," and "The Man from Minap" by Nikolai Arzhak. The state security organs have established that Sinyavsky concealed his identity behind the pseudonym Abram Tertz, and Daniel behind that of Nikolai Arzhak. They were arrested in September 1965.

The investigation showed that Sinyavsky and Daniel, having adopted a position hostile to the Soviet state on a number of questions, sent their writings abroad starting in 1956. In the novel *The Trial Begins*, Sinyavsky, under the guise of criticism of the personality cult, maligned the Soviet system and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (Sinyavsky felt that a new "cult of personality" was growing up around Khrushchev.)

In 1956, the indictment continues, Sinyavsky wrote the article "On Socialist Realism," in which he tried to revise Marxist principles from an anti-Soviet point of view. That article was

In folklore, a gnome is a dwarf who lives underground and usually guards treasure.

► Would you prefer to be tried by a jury or by a panel of judges? Why?

An indictment is a formal charge of wrongdoing.

A pseudonym is a false name sometimes assumed by writers.

It is illegal in the Soviet Union to bypass Soviet publishers and send works abroad for publication.

directed against the guiding role of the Soviet Communist Party in Soviet culture. . . .

[The indictment goes on to accuse first Sinyavsky and then Daniel of sending their writings abroad through Helene Peltier-Zamoyska, the daughter of a former French naval attaché in Moscow. Following the reading of the indictment, the court went on to examine Sinyavsky and Daniel on the reasons for their actions and to hear their final pleas.]

Excerpts from the Four-Day Proceedings

JUDGE: Defendant Sinyavsky, do you plead guilty to the charges, in full or in part?

SINYAVSKY: No, I don't, either in full or in part.

JUDGE: Defendant Daniel, do you plead guilty to the charges in full or in part?

DANIEL: No, I don't, either in full or in part.

(The prosecutor asks the court to adopt the following procedure: examination of Daniel, examination of Sinyavsky, followed by testimony of witnesses and experts in the order listed in the indictment.)

The Examination of Daniel

PROSECUTOR: What was the nature of your literary activity in the U.S.S.R.?

DANIEL: I worked as a translator and wrote articles. The Children's Publishing House printed a story of mine called "Escape"; however, this was not released for sale.

PROSECUTOR: Why did you write works that could be interpreted as anti-Soviet?

DANIEL: Are you asking about them all, or about any one in particular?

PROSECUTOR: You can tell us about any one of them.

DANIEL: I'll talk about "Hands." I know I don't have the right to put questions to the court. But can the prosecution point to a single sentence, a single work, a single letter that could be interpreted as anti-Soviet? This story is a literary version of an actual event that was recounted to me. There is nothing in the story to justify the charges against me. The indictment contradicts itself when it talks about this story. The indictment contends that the Soviet regime has never used force. But such a point of view is not scientific, it is not Marxist, it is not Leninist. According to Lenin, revolution is coercion, and the state is coercive, and [in a revolutionary state there is] coercion of the minority by the majority. The indictment charges that I wrote

Coercion is the use of force or threats to insure obedience.

that "the Soviet regime coerced the Soviet people." There is nothing of this sort in the story, which is about the execution of counterrevolutionaries. There is nothing in the story about retribution. It cannot be interpreted as in the indictment. . . .

JUDGE: Why did you select "Hands" as your first work to be sent abroad for publication? ["Hands" is a story told in the first person by an old member of the Cheka, the secret police, to explain why his hands shake uncontrollably. As a young man in the early days of the revolution, he was a member of a firing squad that executed counterrevolutionaries. One day he is executing a group of priests—but, as a joke, his comrades have loaded his gun with blanks, so that the priests seem immune to his bullets. This ruins his nerves, and he has to leave the service.]

DANIEL: Because I could assume that this story would not be published here; it is about a forbidden subject that has not been dealt with in our literature since the 1930's. . . .

JUDGE: Why was the subject of the shooting of the priests so important to you at this time? Why did you have to revive that theme at this time?

DANIEL: I had no political purpose when I wrote the story. (*Laughter in the courtroom.*)

PROSECUTOR: Let us assume that you did not understand the political character of the story. Why, then, did you send it abroad under a pseudonym and by illegal means?

DANIEL: I sent it out to be published; that was an adequate reason for me. If I had been a physician or an engineer, I would have published it under my own name. But I am a translator. Getting work for a translator of my class depends on good relations with publishing houses. If it had become known that I was being published abroad, I would have lost my translation work. When I gave these things to Peltier, I did not know where, when, and in what country they would be published.

JUDGE: Your story is part of the evidence. (*He holds up the book.*)

PROSECUTOR: In other words, as a poet-translator and writer, you worked under your own name in the U.S.S.R.?

DANIEL: Yes.

PROSECUTOR: And you did not use any pseudonyms?

DANIEL: No.

PROSECUTOR: Which of your works were written under a pseudonym and when?

DANIEL: Works are not written under a pseudonym; they are published under a pseudonym.

PROSECUTOR: All right, then, what was published under a pseudonym?

DANIEL: Under a pseudonym I published "Hands," *This is Moscow Speaking*, "The Man from Minap," and "Atonement," . . .

PROSECUTOR: If you saw nothing anti-Soviet in your writings, why didn't you submit them to Soviet publishers?

DANIEL: I knew very well that the editors would not publish anything on such controversial topics. My writings have a political tinge, and they would not have printed them on political grounds. What I mean is that the editors and publishers have their own policies.

PROSECUTOR: In other words, Daniel, you knew there was something in your writings that stood in the way of their publication in the Soviet Union.

DANIEL (*irritated*): I am simply talking about the practice of our publishers who are afraid to print anything on a controversial topic. . . . The final stage of any literary work is publication. You can interpret this as you wish, as vanity, as excessive pride. But if I had been a physician or engineer, I would not have used a pseudonym. I have already said that I thought it unethical.

PROSECUTOR: You wanted to be published. But didn't you think about our enemies, about the fact that these writings could be used for anti-Soviet propaganda?

DANIEL: I did not think about it.

PROSECUTOR: And when did you start thinking about it?

DANIEL: After 1963 when I first saw two of my books, one with a foreword by Filippov [an ex-Soviet citizen, now publishing in Washington, D.C.]. Then I realized what construction [interpretation] was being put on them. Despite my doubts, I sent one more manuscript abroad. But since 1963 I have written nothing more and sent nothing more abroad. . . .

Final Plea of Sinyavsky

It will be rather difficult for me to speak, since I had not expected that I should be called upon to make my final plea so soon. I had been told that it would be on Monday, and I have not had time to prepare. It will be even more difficult in view of the specific atmosphere that one can feel here fairly keenly. I am not convinced by the arguments of the prosecution, and I stand by my previous attitude. The arguments of the prosecution

give one the feeling of being up against a blank wall, against which one batters one's head in vain, and through which one cannot penetrate in order to get to some kind of truth.

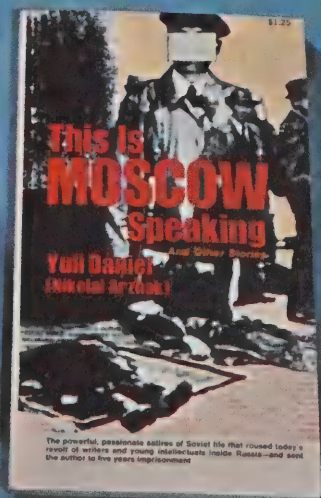
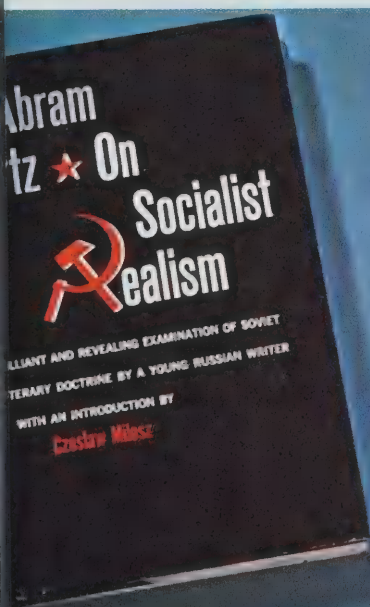
The arguments of the prosecutor are the same as those of the indictment, and I heard them many times during the preliminary investigation. It is always the same quotations over and over again. . . . It is always the same hair-raising quotations from the indictment, repeated dozens of times and mounting up to create a monstrous atmosphere that no longer bears any relation to any kind of reality.

It is an artistic device to keep on repeating the same phrases over and over again, and it is a powerful one. It creates a kind of shroud, a peculiar kind of electrified atmosphere in which the boundary between the real and the grotesque becomes blurred. . . .

It is the atmosphere of a murky anti-Soviet underground behind the bright faces of the doctor of philosophy Sinyavsky

A shroud is a heavy veil or cover.

Something grotesque is a distortion of the natural, making it very ugly or absurd.



► Both Daniel and Sinyavsky knew that publishing their works outside the U.S.S.R. under pseudonyms might get them into serious trouble. Why did they permit their works to be published? Was the benefit of publication worth the risk which the two men took?

Pogroms are massacres of
helpless people.

and the poet-translator Daniel, who hatch plots, nurture plans for putsches [uprisings], terrorist acts, pogroms, assassinations, assassinations, assassinations . . . with only two actors: Daniel and myself. . . .

Final Plea of Daniel

In the final plea of my comrade Sinyavsky, there was a note of despair about the impossibility of breaking through a blank wall of incomprehension and unwillingness to listen. I am not so pessimistic. I wish to go over the arguments of the prosecution and the defense once again.

Throughout the trial, I kept asking myself: what is the purpose of cross-questioning? The answer is obvious and simple: to hear our replies and then put the next question; to conduct the hearing in such a way as finally to arrive at the truth.

This has not happened. . . .

How did they try to prove the anti-Soviet nature of Sinyavsky and myself? Several procedures have been used. The simplest and most head-on form of attack has been to attribute to the author the ideas of his characters. One can do all kinds of things by this method. . . . I, Yuli Markovich Daniel, a Jew, am [declared] an anti-Semite—all this by virtue of the fact that one of my characters, an old waiter, says something about the Jews, and so the following entry goes down in my dossier [record]: “Nikolai Arzhak [Daniel] is a . . . convinced anti-Semite.” . . .

An anti-Semite is anti-Jewish.

Then there is still another very simple, but extremely effective way of “proving” anti-Soviet intent: this is to invent something on the author’s behalf and say that a work has anti-Soviet passages, even though there are none. Take my story “Hands.” My defense lawyer, Kisenishsky, gave a well-argued proof that the basic idea of the story is not anti-Soviet, in whichever way you care to interpret it. In her reply to Kisenishsky, Kedrina [a public accuser] said: “Just look with what expressiveness and vividness, which are otherwise uncharacteristic of him, Daniel has described the episode of the execution!” . . .

What other methods are used to accuse us? Criticism of a certain period is made out to be criticism of a whole epoch; criticism of a five-year period is passed off as criticism of fifty years; even if you write about as short a space of time as two or three years, we are accused of writing about the whole Soviet era. . . .

Finally, I should mention one last procedure—the assertion that criticism of the part applies to the whole, so that disagreement with certain things is made out to be a rejection of the system as a whole.

These, in brief, are the ways and means by which our guilt has been “proved.” . . .

All I have said should not be taken to mean that I regard myself and Sinyavsky as shining . . . [examples] of virtue and that the court should release us from detention immediately after the trial and send us home in a taxi at its own expense. We are guilty—not for what we have written, but for having sent our works abroad. There are many political indiscretions, exaggerations, and jibes in our books. But isn’t twelve years of Sinyavsky’s life and nine years of mine a rather excessive payment for our frivolity, thoughtlessness, and misjudgment? . . .

As we both said under preliminary investigation and here, we deeply regret that our works have been detrimentally exploited by reactionary forces and that thereby we have caused harm to our country. We did not wish this. We had no ill intentions, and I ask the court to take this into consideration.

I wish to ask forgiveness of all my near ones and friends, to whom we have caused distress.

I also wish to say that no articles of any criminal code nor any accusations against us will deter Sinyavsky and me from feeling that we are persons who love our country and our people.

That is all I have to say.

I am ready to hear the sentence.

Andrei Sinyavsky was found guilty and sentenced to seven years at hard labor. He was released in June 1971, after serving five years. Yuli Daniel was also found guilty and was sentenced to five years in a labor camp. He was freed in September 1970, after completing his five-year term.

FOR THOUGHT:

Do you think that Sinyavsky and Daniel had a “fair trial”? Why or why not?

An indiscretion is a mistake in judgment. It often implies a failure to reason carefully or to exercise enough caution.

Frivolity is playfulness, lack of seriousness.

To act detrimentally is to act in such a way as to cause harm.

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 10

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 10A: Analysis of Soviet cartoons about economic decision-making (individual)

Reading 15 in the **Book of Readings** contains ten cartoons from the Soviet humor magazine *Krokodil*. Decide what level of decision-making these cartoons criticize and write a short essay explaining why the Soviet government permits criticism of this kind.

Activity 10B: Research paper about Soviet decision-making (individual)

Reading 16 in the **Book of Readings** contains a collection of source materials about decision-making in Soviet agriculture. From these materials—and others which you may find—write a short research paper focusing on a case study of the decision-making process in the Soviet Union.



UNIT 6

Citizenship

Citizenship in the United States and the Soviet Union

STATING THE ISSUE

CHAPTER

11

One of the roles the President of the United States plays is that of a leader. President Richard M. Nixon acted as a leader when he made decisions concerning the Cambodian invasion. But when he votes in an election, the President acts as a private citizen in his role as a voter. No matter what other roles an individual plays in his life, he is also a citizen within a political system, governed by the system's leaders.

Even though the individual citizen is not directly responsible for making major political decisions, he can still influence them. Chapter 11 analyzes the role played by the individual citizen in the political systems of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The first reading in the chapter is an essay on the meaning of citizenship. Then Readings 54 and 55 examine the access that Americans and Russians have to political information. These readings pose questions about how much information citizens can get on political issues and how reliable this information really is. Reading 56 takes a closer look at election results in the United States and the Soviet Union, and, using additional information, suggests some reasons why many Americans fail to vote. Finally, the last readings investigate the citizen's right to disagree with political decisions in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

53 THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

Many courses in political science and civics include a study of citizenship. Some of these courses approach the concept of citizenship by giving students a definition of the term taken from the United States Constitution. Section 1 of the 14th Amendment says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside."

Other courses describe the way in which a citizen should act in a democracy. These courses identify the characteristics of a good citizen. A good citizen participates in the political life of the society by learning about the legislative, executive, and judicial process. He also learns about public issues, office-holders, and candidates for office. During the years between elections, he reads the press, listens to news broadcasts, watches public affairs programs on television, and discusses public issues with his family, friends, and colleagues. Therefore, when he enters the polling booth on election day, he is prepared to make rational decisions.

But neither the constitutional definition of citizenship nor the description of the model citizen nor a combination of the two provides students with a scheme for learning about citizenship in democratic or authoritarian political cultures. Section 1 of the 14th Amendment identifies the citizen solely as a subject. Students who know only this definition would not be able to tell the difference between citizenship in a democratic political culture and citizenship in an authoritarian political culture. Similarly, the model of a good citizen identifies him solely as an active participant. And not even conscientious citizens in a democratic society can hope to do all the things that characterize a model citizen.

Chapter Three described three kinds of political cultures: participant, subject, and parochial. No society has any of these three political cultures in a pure form. To some degree, each society has a mixed political culture. Each citizen in a mixed political culture acts in ways which demonstrate the qualities of a participant, a subject, and a parochial simultaneously.

For example, consider an American citizen who appears at a polling place on election day ready to vote. His decision to cast a ballot makes him a participant. He enters the voting booth

► To what degree can a citizen justify letting elected officials decide issues for him when he has a chance to participate in the decision by a direct vote?

and examines the names and party affiliations of candidates for numerous national, state, county, and local offices. He remembers the names and the positions that some candidate took on various issues. He considers information that he gathered during the election campaign. He pulls appropriate levers on the voting machine to register his choices. His votes represent rational voter decision-making described in the model of a good citizen.

The voter continues to scan the ballot. He fails to recognize some candidates' names or the offices they seek. His ignorance, an evidence of parochialism, prevents him from voting for these candidates. Finally he reaches the last few items on the ballot. Perhaps one is a referendum asking voters to accept or reject the city council's decision to pass a bond issue to pay for a new school building. This citizen understands the issue clearly, but he believes that only the council should hold the power to make that decision. If citizens disapprove of the council's decision, he thinks they should remove the council from public office by voting for other candidates in the next election. In the meantime, citizens are obliged to obey the laws passed by the council. He votes to approve the council's decision. His reasons illustrate a subject relationship with his government.

This example of a citizen's voting behavior demonstrates that his role as participant dominates but does not entirely replace his roles as subject and parochial. In fact, these roles combine in a democratic political system to form a *civic culture* in which a citizen's involvement, interest, and participation are emphasized, encouraged, and desired, but are balanced by his subject and parochial concerns.

The civic culture is essentially a participant political culture. But it is more than just that. It includes a set of attitudes toward society as a whole and toward the way in which a citizen should act in that society.

The civic culture encourages citizens to remain interested in nonpolitical public and private matters. It sets a standard of participation in society which large numbers of citizens can reach. Finally, the civic culture promotes the idea that a citizen's participation in the political process obliges him to obey the laws made in his behalf by elected representatives.

Thus, the civic culture in the United States remains a mixed political culture. But the use of the term *civic* implies the dominant role of the citizen as a participant. Political scientists agree that because the United States is a participant political culture it is also a civic culture. They divide the participants

in this culture into three groups—allegiant, dissenting, and alienated.

The allegiant participant votes in elections, discusses his views on numerous political issues with his family and friends, and takes part actively in the political process. He approves of the ways in which laws are made and carried out. He also usually approves of the kinds of laws that his government makes. He believes that he can change any particular law of which he does not approve through the regular election process.

The dissenting participant exhibits many of the allegiant's qualities. He differs from the allegiant in significant ways, however. He does not hold the allegiant's unqualified faith in the power of the ballot box to correct injustice. He disagrees vocally with certain government decisions. He sometimes promotes and participates in acts of civil disobedience to show his displeasure with these decisions, and he encourages others to do the same.

The alienated participant, on the other hand, rejects both particular government decisions and the existing political system. He believes that voting serves only to continue the present form of government with all of its inequalities. As a result, alienated participants join political organizations that seek to overthrow the present system and replace it with some other one. Although the three participant groups described here differ in significant ways, they share one important characteristic: all of them show high political involvement.

How do political scientists describe the citizen's role in the Soviet Union? First of all, Soviet citizens vote to ratify candidates picked beforehand by the elite core of citizens who make up the membership of the Communist Party. Only these elite members can be considered genuine participants in the political system. The remaining millions of citizens simply obey the law which requires them to vote on election day. These citizens are participant-subjects rather than true participants in decision-making, and the dominant political culture in the Soviet Union is a participant-subject culture. But as you will see, even the Soviet Union has allegiant citizens, dissenting citizens, and alienated citizens in its political system.

► Which citizen do you think is the more admirable and patriotic, the allegiant or the dissenting? Why?

FOR THOUGHT:

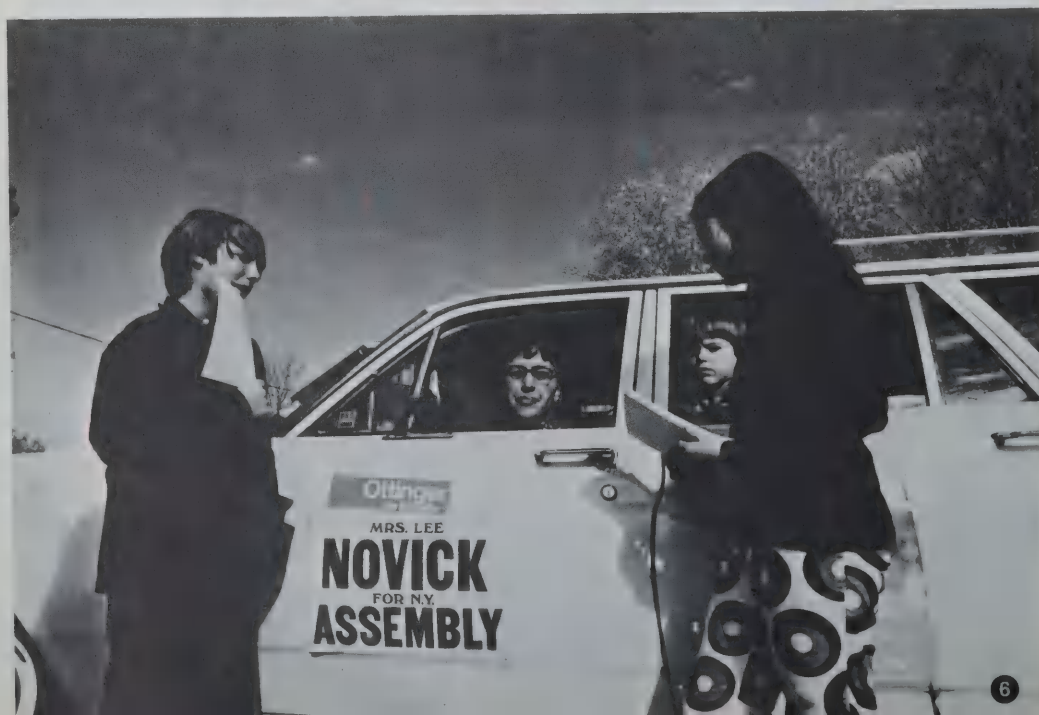
How can the three concepts—allegiant, dissenting, and alienated—help people to analyze the nature of citizenship in various societies?



Look at the pictures on these two pages and on the next page. Which of the pictures show allegiant activity? which show dissent? which show alienation?







54 GETTING POLITICAL INFORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES

No one person, group, or organization controls political information in the United States. Public officials have many ways to reach the voters. The administration gives citizens its interpretation of events through speeches by the President or other officials. Press conferences in which the President answers questions from reporters, and press releases prepared by the President's press secretary also give the administration's views. Political opponents of the President can use these same ways to make their opinions known. In Congress, they can hold committee meetings in which opponents of the administration can speak. In addition, they can speak on the floor of Congress or print material in the *Congressional Record*, which they can then mail without postage to people all over the country.

Private individuals, groups, and organizations have dozens of ways to discuss public affairs. In 1965, 1,751 daily newspapers printed political stories. Thousands of magazines, some of which have a circulation in the millions, carry news about national and local government. Radio and television reach the homes of almost every American. Interest groups mail leaflets to voters; civic groups send representatives to speak at public meetings; neighbors talk to each other. Americans can scarcely avoid getting information about controversial issues.

In a pluralistic society, such as that of the United States, public and private power check each other. Privately owned newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting companies try to make sure the government tells the whole story and tells it truthfully. The government protects private citizens by enforcing laws against libel and slander. Libel means written or printed material which tends to injure a person's reputation unjustly. Slander means injuring a person's reputation unjustly through the spoken word. Laws against libel and slander, freedom to print the truth, and the control of media by a great variety of people and organizations help the citizens of our democratic society get the information they need to make informed judgments.

The task of keeping citizens well informed requires constant effort. Some government business must be carried on in secret.

The government cannot tell potential enemies about plans for national defense, for example. For this reason, government officials stamp some documents “secret” or “top secret” and refuse to let them circulate. Whether such documents would really hurt the country if they got wide circulation is a matter for judgment. Sometimes documents have been classified secret in order to cover up something which might embarrass the administration. Sooner or later, however, reporters usually find out about such incidents; sometimes because a person inside the government “leaks” the information to a reporter.

Reading 54 shows the way in which television and the press together brought activities of the Defense Department to the attention of the American public. As you read this account, think about these questions:

1. How did CBS gather the information it used in its program *The Selling of the Pentagon*?
2. Did government officials like the program? What could they do about it?

Newsweek, March 8, 1971,
p. 74. Copyright, Newsweek,
Inc., 1971.

Unmasking the Pentagon

The CBS television documentary *The Selling of the Pentagon* had been on the air only 14 minutes when the network's Washington office received . . . a blistering phone call labeling newsman Roger Mudd, the narrator of *Selling*, as “an agent of a foreign power.” At the 37-minute mark, an Air Force colonel called in to say: “The next time I see Mudd I’m going to take the nose off his face.” And by the time the hour-long show had ended, CBS headquarters in New York had heard from some five hundred viewers, at least half of them totally outraged by the program.

None of this in any way surprised CBS News. For *The Selling of the Pentagon* . . . carried an explosive message: the accusation that the military establishment spends a significant amount of its resources and time in trying to brainwash the citizenry. More specifically, *Selling* charged that the military spends vast amounts of money . . . on propaganda designed to win public approval of the nation’s war machine. And in the process, [it] frequently resorts to outright deception of the media and the taxpayer.

To brainwash means to
persuade by propaganda or
salesmanship.

To document this case, a CBS News team headed by 34-year-old writer-producer Peter Davis . . . spent eleven months investigating the Pentagon's public relations apparatus. At Fort Jackson, S.C., Davis and his crew filmed a public display of firepower that was priced at \$2 million by the weapons officer in charge. After the shooting, local children were allowed to play in the tanks and handle the rifles. In New Jersey, the CBS team shot Green Berets demonstrating techniques of hand-to-hand killing to a youthful audience. At a camp in North Carolina, reporters talked with a group of business executives who were given the thrill of actually firing tank cannons and machine guns. And at various places around the country, Davis and his crew discovered . . . a team of Army colonels who deliver hardline speeches on the Indochina war to community groups.

Turning to ways in which the Pentagon seeks to manipulate the media [including CBS]—one segment of *Selling* dealt with the \$12 million worth of “information” films which the military produces each year in an effort to keep Americans alert to the dangers of Communism. . . . And later in the program a former Air Force information officer recounted how he had hoodwinked a CBS television crew in Vietnam by rehearsing Air Force pilots before an interview. Soberly, narrator Mudd conceded [admitted]: “Not only the public but the press as well has been beguiled [deceived]—including at times ourselves at CBS News. . . .”

“The military treated us in three different ways,” Davis recalls. “At the top level we were given cautious but rather full cooperation. At the local level there was some hostility—and a few people just lied to us. And then there were the career officers whose attitude . . . was one of outright hostility.”

. . . Outright hostility was also the prevailing Pentagon reaction to Davis's program. But instead of mounting any major counterattack itself, the military establishment was content to rely on its tried and true friends on Capitol Hill. One of these . . . was Representative F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana . . . He denounced *Selling*—which he had not yet seen—as the “most misleading, damaging attack on our people . . . I've ever heard of . . .”

Among TV critics, reaction to *Selling* was enthusiastic. . . . But . . . veteran Pentagon reporters . . . complain [ed] that the show was not tough enough. “The program's emphasis . . .” said one Pentagon correspondent, “obscured a far more serious problem: the agonies newsmen go through in trying to get any information at all out of the Pentagon.” And a former Pentagon

Firepower means the total amount of missiles and bullets that can be landed on a target.

Green Berets are United States Army Special Forces. They specialize in guerilla warfare and have been used widely in the Vietnam war.

► What do you think of the government's use of tax money to advertise only its accomplishments to its citizens?

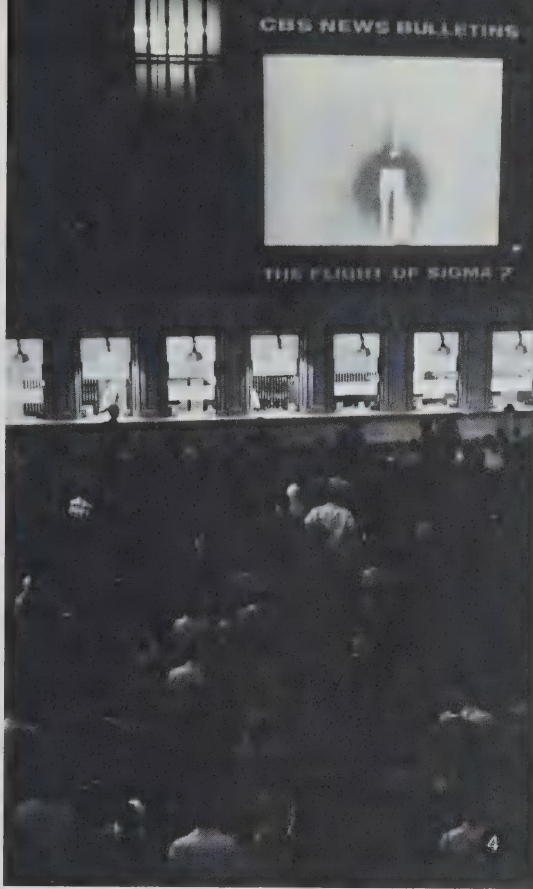
F. Edward Hébert is Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

► When should television producers have to inform the government or private citizens about the purpose of an investigation before it is broadcast publicly?



These photographs show five ways in which citizens can gather political information in a pluralistic society. What are they? What additional ways can you suggest to picture in the blank space on the opposite page?





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6

information officer . . . said: "The program simply didn't come to grips with the reality that Pentagon officials deliberately set out to mislead newsmen. . . ."

Whatever its shortcomings, however, *The Selling of the Pentagon* constituted a landmark of sorts. For a long time, it has been common for public officials to claim that the media in general and network television in particular make a habit of "perverting" the news. In Peter Davis's program, CBS News . . . counterattacked with a convincing demonstration that when it comes to stage-managing the news, no one tries harder or succeeds better than the government itself.

FOR THOUGHT:

How could the public get news of the sort described in this article if the government owned all the media? What differences does widespread control of media by different groups make to a democratic society?

55 GETTING POLITICAL INFORMATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

One organization, the Communist Party, controls all the legal means of communicating with citizens in the Soviet Union. Censorship, already well established under the tsars, became even more complete after the 1917 revolution. The Party wanted to make the "new Soviet man" a reality. To do so, it believed that it had to eliminate attitudes that had taken firm root in Russian society. So the Party seized control of every possible means of selling its program to citizens.

More than 10,000 newspapers are published in the Soviet Union in eighty-one different languages. However, all are

controlled by the government. Identical stories may appear in every one of these newspapers on the same day. Many Soviet citizens get their newspapers at home. Others read them on public newspaper boards. Most citizens also have radios, and many own television sets. Studios where both radio and television programs originate are all owned by the government and controlled by party officials. The government pays news commentators and plans television and radio schedules.

A monistic society does not permit private power to challenge public power. Nor does it permit private individuals, groups, or organizations to give out their versions of the news. A few Soviet citizens get news outside party sources in four ways. They talk to travelers or to Soviet citizens who have traveled abroad. They listen to foreign radio broadcasts. They attend meetings where an occasional dissenter will speak. And they circulate from hand to hand typewritten manuscripts of books, articles, poems, and songs which government publishing houses refuse to print. All four of these ways to gather information are closed to the great majority of Soviet citizens.

The article which follows describes the ways in which the Soviet Union controls radio and television broadcasts. As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What sorts of programs appear on Soviet airwaves? Why these kinds?
2. How could a program like *The Selling of the Pentagon* be produced in the Soviet Union?

The Soviet Airwaves

An American returning from the Soviet Union remarked, "In Russia you don't watch TV—TV watches you. . . ." The comment . . . suggests that there are important differences between radio and television in the Soviet Union and the United States. The most important difference, of course, lies in the objectives of the media.

The Soviet regime can never assume that the indoctrination program in the schools and youth organizations has been completely successful. The ideal of the "new Soviet man" must be presented to the people day after day. . . . And what better way is there to do this than to use radio and television? What to

William S. Howell and
E. W. Ziebarth in **Soviet
Union: Paradox and Change**,
Robert T. Holt and John E.
Turner, Eds. (New York:
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
Inc., 1962), pp. 184–189.
Reprinted by permission of
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
Inc.

► To what extent should a government-owned station be obliged to air programs that do not include political propaganda?

► What can a government hope to accomplish by maintaining rigid controls over the mass media?

Agitprop is the Department of Agitation and Propaganda.

Pravda is the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Americans are normal functions of the mass media—providing information, news, and especially entertainment—are secondary in the Soviet Union. . . . Political indoctrination is fundamental. . . .

The Soviet leaders are perfectly frank about the functions of their mass media. . . . One directive points out, for example, that “radio must assist in circulating political information . . . [and] must mobilize the masses for the fulfillment of the tasks of socialist construction. . . . In order to become a genuine loud-speaker for the Party addressing the millions of workers, political information on the radio must be outstanding in its loyalty to the Party’s interests . . . and activity. We reject all indifferent ‘objective information’” . . .

If the broadcasting system is to serve . . . the objectives of the state, it must be . . . controlled by the state. There can be no . . . competing private networks and local stations such as exist in the United States. The entire domestic radio and television system operates under the state committee of television and radio broadcasting, which is appointed by and reports to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. This committee is granted an exclusive license, and the question of competition simply does not arise. . . .

A special unit of the Communist Party—*Agitprop*—works closely with the state committee of television and radio broadcasting in designing propaganda activities. Indeed, Agitprop takes the lead in developing . . . strategy that will support the policies laid down by Communist leaders in the Party Presidium. . . .

What kind of program, then, does the Russian television viewer have to watch? First, there is straight political propaganda and indoctrination. Even these programs, however, take many different forms. A worker . . . may appear before the cameras . . . to tell how he achieved success and call upon all other workers to follow his example. An editor of *Pravda* may give a speech discussing and interpreting a change in the party line or a new production scheme. . . . [On] the so-called “news programs,” there [are] discussions of production quotas, ceremonies awarding prizes for various accomplishments, and biting comments about western imperialism. . . .

But the newscasts almost never include stories of human interest or of personal fortune or of robberies, murders, fires, and accidents. When this kind of material is included, it is used to demonstrate a point. An incident of juvenile delin-

quency, for example, is reported when there is a campaign to wipe out this social problem. An automobile accident may be reported if an effort is being made to reduce the number of accidents, but not because the accident itself constitutes news.

The live telecasting of a sporting event, a concert, or even a theatrical production is another regular part of the schedule. This is perhaps the most impressive television programming done in the Soviet Union. . . . Soviet television drama is often a straightforward presentation of a play from a Moscow theater. And the televising of concerts and sports events is especially well handled. . . .

Strictly informational or educational programs make up a third category. An official from the ministry of agriculture may [talk] for an hour and a half on the best ways to plant and [grow] corn. There may be a program on dressmaking, or a learned lecture on Tolstoy. . . . A People's Television University provides educational programs of reasonably high quality to [large] numbers of students. It is difficult to [estimate] the numbers of such students, but . . . they may [be] in the hundreds of thousands . . .

A fourth program category is the "regular feature" . . . Among the best and the most popular regular features are the children's programs. Animated cartoons, fairy tale hours, and puppet shows frequently open the evening schedule. . . . These puppet shows are often superb, although even they include . . . political material. . . .

Some mention should be made of that staple of television programming in every country—the old movie. They are used in the Soviet Union too, although they are supplemented with current films, including some foreign films, especially from [other Communist] countries. . . .

In the Soviet Union there is little daytime television. The regime does not wish to distract the worker from his major tasks. . . . This pattern is gradually changing, however, with weekday telecasts between noon and one o'clock and Sunday and holiday programming from ten in the morning until midnight. . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

How do the differences in the way citizens can get information in the United States and the Soviet Union affect the chances of a participant political culture in each country?

Leo Tolstoy, (1828–1910) the Russian philosopher and author, is considered to be one of the world's greatest writers. His most famous novel is *War and Peace*.

56 CITIZENSHIP AND VOTING: THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION

Elections in the Soviet Union serve different purposes from those in the United States. Soviet elections demonstrate popular support for the regime. Election days there seem like American holidays complete with flags, banners, and bands. In honor of the elections, many workers promise to produce more goods than on normal days. The media praise the achievements of the regime at home and abroad. Party officials do everything in their power to get people to vote. The election provides the illusion of genuine participation in government.

The fact that more than 99 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots in national elections does not mean that almost everyone in the Soviet Union cares desperately about political affairs. It probably means that, since the Party is so powerful, no one wants to offend a local party boss unnecessarily. No one knows how many citizens would vote in a truly free election.

No central authority pressures citizens to vote in the United States. Officials ask them to do so; friends and neighbors enlist their votes for favorite candidates; local party officials try to get them to the polls. But no one punishes them if they do not vote. And millions of Americans stay home on election days. Table 56 shows comparative voter turnout in typical elections in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Why do some Americans fail to vote? Why do they choose not to be participants? Some years ago a social scientist did an “exploratory study” in order to develop hypotheses about why citizens failed to take part in politics. He asked 70 nonparticipating citizens of Ithaca, New York, to give him their reasons for their failure to participate. Then he grouped the answers that seemed to fit together in order to develop his hypotheses. The researchers emphasized that they did not try to get a scientific sample of all nonparticipants. For this reason, their results should be thought of only as tentative and not final.

The second part of Reading 56 is made up of answers given by voters to members of the research team. Your teacher will give you a duplicate set of these answers on dittoed sheets. In preparation for class tomorrow, cut up the dittoed sheets so that each answer appears on a separate piece of paper. Then place similar answers together. For example, if four replies hinted

that women avoided politics because they thought it was unladylike, you would indicate that these replies belonged together. (You won't find an idea like this one in the replies which follow, of course.) When you have grouped all the replies, write down in your notebooks the hypotheses which the replies you have been studying suggest about why some Americans do not participate in politics.

While you are doing this work, think about the following general questions:

1. Why do some Americans fail to participate in the political process?
2. Would these Americans probably participate if the United States had a government like that of the Soviet Union?

U.S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics*, Series P-20, No. 174, August 8, 1968, and No. 177, December 27, 1968; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *International Population Reports*, Series P-91, No. 13, 1964; *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 18, No. 24, 1966, p. 3.

TABLE 56 VOTER PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.

United States statistics are for the Presidential election, 1968; Soviet statistics are for the elections to the Supreme Soviet, 1966.

	Number in Millions		% of Total Population		% of Voting Age Pop.	
	U.S. ¹	U.S.S.R.	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
Total Population	201	232	100	100		
Voting Age Population	117 ²	150	58	65	100	100
Registered Voters	87	144	43	62	74	96
Actual Voters	73	144	36	62	62	96
Registered Voters Who Did Not Vote	14	—	7	—	12	—
Disfranchised Population (Population of Voting Age Not Registered to Vote)	30 ³	6	15	3	26	4
Population Below Voting Age	84 ⁴	82	42	36	72	55

¹ All figures except those for total population and population below voting age refer to civilian noninstitutional population.

² To the noninstitutional population of voting age, add another 3 million, comprising the inmates of jails and hospitals and members of the armed forces stationed overseas.

³ Includes those who do not know if they voted and are not reported to have voted. Also includes noncitizens of voting age.

⁴ Includes institutional population of voting age.

Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVIII, 4 (Winter, 1954-1955), pp. 349-366. Reprinted with permission of *Public Opinion Quarterly* and Morris Rosenberg.

Political Inactivity Among United States Citizens

1. "... I never like to express my political views in public. . . . Since I have to deal with so many men, both in the plant and in buying [raw material], there is no sense in making people angry at you over a local election."
2. "... I'm not interested enough. I don't take the time to read such matters. I like to read more exciting things, such as kidnap cases, and I also like the sports section a lot."
3. "Some of my friends are [active in politics]. Some are avid Democrats, but most of my friends are not active. We don't discuss politics much. I think it's sort of like religion. It's personal, and I don't like to get into arguments. . . . When politics comes up in conversation, I always say: 'Let's talk about something else' . . ."
4. "We say we live in a democracy because we elect our representatives. But if the people we elect are . . . chosen by people who are outside our control, then our democracy is . . . not as pure as we think it is. . . . I think that the higher levels of party organization are closed to ordinary citizens."
5. "Voting doesn't make that much difference. What can an individual do about it? He can't really do much."

"My vote will always count, yet one vote one way or the other doesn't make much difference."
6. "I remember one time going to a city council meeting when I was back in Minnesota. I was disagreeing with one of the commissioners on an important town issue. Why, the next day I received calls and a visitor asking me what exactly it was all about and what was I up to. After that I just didn't go to meetings of that sort."

7. "I think it's better to do something which has direct results. I don't know how party politics go or anything, and . . . it seems that you end up doing little things like telephoning or licking stamps. You don't have any control over things because everything is decided by party leaders, and you don't have much to say about what goes on. You don't get any direct results. In Girl Scouts you see these results; you have a chance to shape the characters of the girls. I think that's more important."
8. "[World peace is] . . . an important problem . . . but there isn't much we can do about it in a meeting downtown. We're concerned about it, naturally, everyone is; but just about all we can do is sit by and watch what happens. Washington does all the deciding, and we've put men there for the purpose. . . . I know what it entails to pick up garbage, but I haven't the foggiest notion of what it takes to put over a treaty between two countries. I don't know whether the men in Washington are doing the best possible job or not."
9. "... In my field, there is no harm in avoiding unnecessary conflicts, and politics are subject to strong sentiments. . . . I have to maintain relations among employees and management, and I try to avoid trouble points. . . ."
10. "Everyone votes Republican here whether they are good, bad, or inefficient. . . . In many town, local, and county elections, one party dominates the area. There is not enough spirit of competition to arouse interest."
11. "I personally want to be informed because my husband holds different political beliefs. We don't discuss politics very often because when we do we are likely to disagree violently. Right now I want to avoid friction—we were just married last June. . . ."
12. "Once a man is elected and he turns out [to be] no good, it is too late to do anything about it. They might not do what

they say. Either they can't do it, or they say, 'I'm in now, so I don't have to do it.'"

13. "What does the working man care about politics, anyway? What can he do, even if he did care? That's probably it. . . . What can he do? Nothing should bother him anyway. The country will still go on just the same for the average working man."
14. "I feel I'm really able to help people directly through my work at the [Community] Center, but I don't think I have much power to help others through politics."
15. "I realize that politics does affect me, but it still doesn't seem to really touch me. I think we must be educated to a degree to think about it as something personal. . . . I think the fundamental thing is that we don't feel directly related or affected. . . . It doesn't concern us inwardly."

FOR THOUGHT:

Think about Americans who now participate in politics. How would their participation change if they lived under a Soviet government?

57 THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE: DISSENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Americans and Soviet citizens sometimes disagree with decisions made by their political leaders. One way to compare political systems is to evaluate the freedom citizens have to express disapproval of decisions made by their political leaders.

Dissent is the term used to describe this disagreement. Dissent usually focuses on specific issues. For example, President Nixon approved a plan made by the Johnson administration to build a multi-billion dollar anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system by constructing numerous bases near major cities. Citizens in each area chosen as an ABM site showed their disapproval of the plan by holding mass meetings and by picketing missile construction sites. Their letters to newspapers and telegrams to congressmen challenged the President's claim that the anti-ballistic missiles would protect this country from a surprise attack. They argued that the location of the missiles would endanger the lives of the people near the sites, since in case of war, these bases would probably become the first targets of any enemy attack. Public dissent and the refusal of Congress to spend funds for a comprehensive ABM system forced the President to accept a limited program of two missile sites far from dense population centers. To be politically effective, however, dissenters must have an audience who can influence key decision-makers.

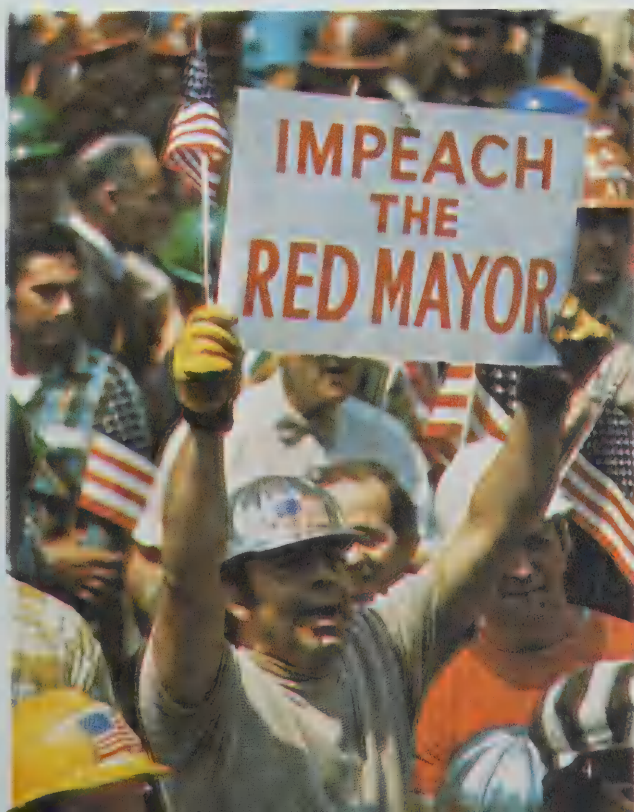
During the 1960's, dissent in the United States focused upon two issues: the civil rights movement and United States involvement in the war in Vietnam. A vital chapter in the struggle by black Americans to achieve equal rights with white Americans began with a Supreme Court decision in 1954. The Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional. In the 1960's, thousands of black Americans sought to change their political status from dissenting subjects to allegiant and dissenting participants by registering to vote in the South. Years of protest and organized demonstrations finally resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With the power of the United States government to support them, black citizens continued to demand that states obey the new laws requiring equal treatment for all people at voting places, restaurants, and hotels. At the same time, they pressed for new legislation that would provide equal treatment in all aspects of American society and would raise the quality of life for black people.

Beginning in 1965 and continuing into the 1970's, thousands of Americans have protested against the Vietnam war. In April 1965, the first march on Washington D.C. protested the decision of the Johnson administration to escalate American involvement by increasing the U.S. troop commitment in South Vietnam and by bombing North Vietnam. Days before this protest rally in



► Which of these pictures shows the least degree of dissent? which the most? Do you think that citizens can justify using these means of dissent? if you do, for what goals?





Washington D.C., a group of dissenters devised an unusual technique for getting their views heard. A group of university professors questioned decisions the government had made about the war in Vietnam. They wanted to present the “facts” surrounding the problem and to look at and to debate conflicting views of its solution. To do this, they devised a technique called a teach-in.

On March 24, 1965, some 200 members of the University of Michigan’s faculty and 12,000 students attended a night-long rally to discuss and debate United States policy in Vietnam. Within weeks, the teach-in movement had spread to campuses all over the country. Hundreds of professors and students participated in all-night discussions. On May 15, a national teach-in took place at a Washington hotel with closed-circuit radio relaying the debate to 110 campuses. A nationwide audience of over 100,000 persons heard the program. After the formal presentation had been completed, they continued with all-night sessions of their own.

The teach-in, conceived as a forum for both sides of the controversy, invited top-level government officials to engage in debate with college professors, some of whom disagreed violently with government policy. McGeorge Bundy, the President’s Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, was scheduled to present the government’s position. Bundy cancelled his appearance on the day of the debate because he had to leave on an unexpected mission to the Dominican Republic, where a sudden crisis had erupted. But he sent a prepared message that was read for him. Other government officials did participate in a debate with academic authorities on Asian affairs in an effort to put before the American public the difficulties involved in reaching consensus on complex, value-laden problems.

Webster Schott, a writer for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, listened to the national teach-in broadcast at Washington University in St. Louis. His account of the experience is recorded in “The Teach-In—New Forum for Reason.” As you read, keep these questions in mind:

1. Who participated in the teach-in that was held at Washington University?
2. How did the professors involved explain their reasons for participating? What do you think of their reasons?

The Teach-In—New Forum for Reason

The Nation, May 31, 1965.

... Affiliated with the national teach-in at Washington that failed to produce McGeorge Bundy, some one hundred teach-ins were held at colleges and universities across the country on May 15. At Washington University in St. Louis, the teach-in began at 1:00 P.M., with radio-telephone hookup to the Washington debate; it ended the next morning at 1:30. Professors and students then swept up cigarette butts, paper plates, leftover French fries, and rearranged chairs and tables for breakfast in Wohl Student Center cafeteria.

I attended the Washington University teach-in because the Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Policy there had placed the public needle in McGeorge Bundy, Presidential adviser, that led to his accepting an invitation to appear at the national teach-in held by the Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam.

Earlier, Bundy had rejected the Washington University committee's letter of April 10, inviting him to come to St. Louis for a teach-in debate. "I find strange your assumption that a public official is somehow accountable to the profession in which he worked before coming to the government. . . ." He closed by saying that if the letter, which raised questions about American policy in Vietnam, "came to me for grading as a professor of government, I would not be able to give it high marks." The exchange of correspondence became national news. The professors' letter, signed by 127 Washington University faculty members, was transmitted by Robert Buckhout, secretary of the ad hoc committee. A twenty-nine-year-old assistant professor of psychology, Buckhout was chairman of the Washington University teach-in.

For three hours, students and faculty intermittently listened, hissed, applauded, read, wandered, took notes, tape recorded, and ate to the debates taking place 750 miles away. If there was a hero in these Washington exchanges, he was Hans Morgenthau, brought to St. Louis at a cost of \$200 paid by faculty contributions. Cheers arose when he demanded "full and honest answers" from the government about Vietnam instead of "contradictions, half truths, and double talk." If there was a villain, he was McGeorge Bundy, who canceled his appearance shortly before air time because of "important national business."

► Can you justify using a university building supported by tax money to hold a rally to protest a government decision? How?

Before becoming a special adviser to the President, Mr. Bundy had been an Associate Professor of Government at Harvard University and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

► What obligations do private citizens and government officials have to debate publicly the merits of a government policy?

Hans Morgenthau, Professor of Political Science at The University of Chicago, was an outspoken critic of the Vietnam war.

In the absence of Mr. Bundy, the Washington teach-in became a three-hour version of "Meet the Academics," but the crowd grew in the ground-floor northwest bay of Wohl Center, and soon Dr. Buckhout took the debate upstairs to the cafeteria, where there was room for several hundred more.

Academia was to be seen in profile: Beatle haircuts and beards; barefoot girls with elbow-length hair and Daisy Mae shorts; little old ladies in hair nets; professors pulling on their pipes; a man in overalls; middle-aged "adult education" women who might have been on their way to the A & P, and outside Wohl the inevitable baby carriages.

The repetitiousness of the panelists' arguments combined with the marvel of electronic technology somehow managed to render boring the life-and-death issues being argued at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington. . . . Everything except the sandwiches, Cokes, and smoke changed when the "live" teach-in started late Saturday afternoon. Ideas took on vitality because they came from identifiable personalities. Faculty and students from Washington University, St. Louis University, Flat River Junior College, the University of Missouri at St. Louis, Maryville College, Eden Theological Seminary, and elsewhere delivered papers, made extemporaneous speeches, questioned, and answered from the floor as the rotating panel rolled through the night. The interplay among panelists, faculty, and students revealed the teach-in as more than a phenomenon of protest and dissent. Could it become a permanent new technique of interdisciplinary education or a means of achieving a consensus of intellectuals on issues of national concern? . . .

There were no good guys and bad guys during the live teach-in. Continuously changing as some two thousand students came and went for eight hours, the audience of five hundred to six hundred responded unpredictably. Both defenders and opponents of government foreign policy found support. . . .

The largest ovation of the day or night followed a long, detailed account of Indo-Chinese social and political history by Father Francis Corley, a Jesuit professor of Asian studies at St. Louis University. Students took notes on French colonialism, Bao Dai, the Geneva accords of 1954, the Diem family government, changes in Vietnamese regimes, the formation of the National Liberation Front and the Vietcong. . . . The enthusiasm for this painstaking presentation supported a point made at the start of the teach-in by Dr. Bernard Baumrin, Associate Professor of philosophy and one of the teach-in organizers.

Emperor Bao Dai had been Chief of State of South Vietnam until 1955.

Ngo Dinh Diem was elected first President of South Vietnam in 1955. He relied very heavily for political advice and support on members of his immediate family, especially on his brother and sister-in-law Ngo Dinh Nhu and Madame Nhu. When the Diem regime was overthrown by a military coup in 1963, both Diem and Nhu were shot to death. Madame Nhu fled to France.

The Vietcong is the name given to the guerilla forces in South Vietnam.

The National Liberation Front is the political arm of the Vietcong movement.

"There is nothing improper in what we are doing here," he said. "We are just covering up for, or updating, a poorly designed curriculum. We forgot to have courses on Southeast Asia politics in the curriculum this year. The academic community failed in Germany during the 1930's. We are not going to let it happen here." . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

To what extent is dissent limited in the United States? Is the teach-in an effective way to express dissent?

The German universities did very little to oppose the racist and totalitarian policies of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party in the 1930's. For the most part, they actively cooperated with the Nazis to destroy academic freedom and stamp out dissent.

58 THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE: DISSENT IN THE SOVIET UNION

By 1967, when the Soviet Union celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Soviet people generally accepted Soviet ideology. But the government still maintained strict control over the individual's access to political information.

In Reading 57 you learned that on the night of March 24, 1965, over 2,000 Americans participated in a teach-in at the University of Michigan. Some of the participants voiced fervent disagreement with the government's decision to wage war in Vietnam. The dissenters accepted American ideology; they were not advocating that the system be overthrown. They were openly disagreeing with a decision made by their political leaders. Their views were heard by those who attended the teach-in. These views were published in a magazine circulated nationally. They were repeated by radio and television commentators. The First Amendment to the Constitution protected the right of these dissenters to express their views.

Article 125 of the Soviet constitution guarantees individuals in the Soviet Union only limited freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. But although in fact Soviet citizens do not have these rights, they do have ways to voice disagreement. Soviet literature has become one of the principal means for expressing

political discontent. Poets and authors have published literary works critical of the leaders. In 1956, the Soviet poet, Kirsanov, wrote:

S. Kirsanov, "Seven Days of the Week," published in *Novii Mir*, 1956.

I long for audacity
in thought
sound
color
I long for an idea
born out of exaggeration
I want that everything
should seem
like first love
that we should
be satiated
with faith and trust
so that we should
no longer live
like petitioners
behind numb doors.

Because of the role poets play as social and political critics, a poetry reading by a recognized poet in the Soviet Union may attract thousands of people. A new book by such a poet may sell 100,000 copies on the first day it is issued.

Reading 58 tells of Bulat Okudzava, a popular Soviet bal-ladeer. The government refuses to record his songs, but he travels around the country singing and accompanying himself on a guitar. His songs have been picked up and sung by those who hear them, and they have spread throughout the nation. As you read about Okudzava, keep these questions in mind:

1. What are the subjects of Okudzava's protests? Is he protesting against the ideology of the Soviet Union?
2. How effective do you think his type of dissent is in spreading a point of view?

The New York Times, May 15,
1966, © 1966 by The
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Unperson Sings to the Russians

The author of this article is a Yugoslav teacher and writer who wrote an essay in 1965 which was so controversial

that he was fired from his teaching job and was temporarily jailed.

Okudzava could be called the most popular man in Russia. He is a poet, a novelist, but above all a writer and singer of songs. His ballads, which he sings in a pleasant if untrained voice and which he accompanies on a guitar, have made a tremendous impact on the people of the Soviet Union, especially on the younger generation. His songs are not allowed to be recorded, but they are spread throughout the nation by tape recorder and by mouth and are sung by heart by the entire country. . . .

According to the official Soviet press, Bulat Okudzava barely exists. . . . Okudzava's stanzas are printed occasionally, to be sure, and even a few collections of his poems have been published. But the main thing—his lyrics, his songs—can almost be said not to exist. . . .

Bulat Okudzava was born in Moscow in 1924. His father, a high party functionary, was shot during the mass purges of the thirties; his mother, also a party member, spent nineteen years in a Siberian concentration camp. In 1942, when he was eighteen, Okudzava went to war, an experience which had an imperishable [unforgettable] effect upon him.

After graduating from the Pedagogic Institute and teaching in a village school, he started writing verses and published his first collection of poems, *Lyrical Poetry*, in 1956. The second collection, *The Islands*, appeared in 1959, but in an edition of just two thousand copies; his third collection, *The Happy Drummer*, was published in 1964, but only after prolonged harassment and an open letter to L. F. Ilyichev, the ideological chief of the Party. . . .

Okudzava published his first novel, *Good Luck to You, My Pupil*, in 1961 in the now-banned magazine *Tarusskiye Stranitsy*, to which most eminent Russian literati [writers] also contributed. In it, Okudzava discarded the previously standard, paper-thin profile of the soldier-hero who fearlessly marches to his death "for Stalin and the fatherland," and presented a real, human soldier. This raised a tumultuous reaction from the official critics because it "removed the halo of heroism" from the Soviet soldier. . . .

The novel is autobiographical, describing the wartime life of a youngster who goes to the front lines straight from the school-room. . . . The young soldier feels no sense of heroism in the chaos of war, but rather an element of senselessness:

► What effect would harassment or even threats of imprisonment have on your willingness to protest against the government?

“What happened: we were all swept up, carried on, and mixed up. . . . Pupils are crawling in trenches, they die of wounds, and without their arms and legs, they return home. . . . A girl is the sergeant. . . . What is happening?”

In contrast to the frightened young men who still volunteer to go to war, there are the soldiers whose ideas of “patriotism” and “heroic fighting” mean staying in the rear. One of these haughtily asks the principal hero of the novel: “Do you love your fatherland?”

“Yes I do,” I replied. “I was taught to, while I was still in the first grade.”

Later, when it turns out that the first soldier did not go to the front because he had a document showing he was “irreplaceable in the rear,” he tells the young man: “That’s how it goes. Who likes to die, anyway?”

. . . Okudzava was smeared by the official critics. But if the novel alone were involved, they would not have been so severe – the book would not be published anymore, and that would be that.

Something much worse had happened: Okudzava’s songs had become known and had proved enormously popular . . . without any assistance from the radio or press. Okudzava had become a genuinely popular artist, in the best sense of the word. . . . The government could do nothing about it – neither by ignoring him nor even by publicly attacking him. The songs of Bulat Okudzava had become the property of the young spirited people of the vast land.

In his songs Okudzava is even more candid than in his novel. Most of them deal with the war – or, rather, with the tragedy and the senselessness of war. But unlike the official Soviet “peace-makers” who shift all guilt to the other side, Okudzava assumes an equally disgusted attitude toward “our heroic Soviet army” as well.

One of his most popular songs is entitled “On a Soldier” . . .

And if something is as it shouldn’t be – we don’t
worry!

As the saying goes, “The fatherland has ordered it!”
How nice it is not to be blamed for anything,
To be an ordinary soldier, an ordinary soldier.

In a country where, for half a century now, the public lie has become a normal thing, and where speaking the truth is not

only dangerous but also in a sense indecent, Okudzava sings that the most important thing in life is not to be involved with any sort of lie:

Oh, that your hands should only remain clean,
And all the rest will come by itself.

It is for such sentiments that Okudzava has become so popular, and so distasteful to the authorities.

FOR THOUGHT:

How easy do you think it would be to convert support for Okudzava's type of dissent into political pressure?



► The soldiers who burned Jews in ovens such as these did so on the orders of their superior officers. Should the soldiers have refused to follow orders? If they had refused, what would probably have happened to them?

59 THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE: ALIENATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Dissent plays a vital part in the democratic process. It links the people and their government. It is a means of communication, a way in which voters can tell their leaders what they want. Disagreement and the balancing of conflicting interests provide a base upon which a democratic political system can be built. But even a democracy must limit dissension, or chaos may result.

Dissenters may disagree with the decisions their leaders make, but they do not challenge the government's authority to make decisions. They may disagree with the Supreme Court's judgment that separate school facilities cannot be equal, but they do not stand in the way of officials authorized to enforce this judgment. They may disagree about the wisdom of the government's right to make foreign policy. They do not, however, give secret information about foreign affairs to enemy agents. They are dissenters, but they are not alienated from the entire system.

The term alienation has been used to describe many different kinds of behavior. Those citizens who do not vote and play no role in the political process are said to be alienated. In a system built around the belief that control of the government should lie in the hands of citizens, the nonvoter challenges the existence of the system itself. He is acting in a way that is contrary to the system, a way that, if generally adopted, would destroy it.

Not all alienated people are passive. Some decide to act out their dissatisfaction with the system. Reading 59 describes an incident that occurred in Lamar, South Carolina. It involved a group of alienated citizens. As you read, consider the following questions:

1. What happened in Lamar, South Carolina?
2. At what point can the actions of a group such as the one in Lamar no longer be considered legitimate dissent?

Reporter Jon Nordheimer filed these two stories to The New York Times from Lamar, South Carolina.

Gas Routs Whites Who Upset Buses at Carolina School

The New York Times, March 4, 1970, p. 1, © 1970 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

A mob of white men stormed three school buses carrying Negro children to a newly desegregated high school here today and attempted to attack the pupils with ax handles, lengths of chain, and stones before the state police dispersed them with tear gas. Before scattering, about 200 men overturned two empty school buses and pelted the helmeted police with rocks and sticks.

Several persons suffered minor injuries in the melee [fight]. Two children were cut in the face by glass when the men smashed bus windows with clubs while they were still aboard the vehicles.

Governor Robert E. McNair . . . condemned the attack as “an act which defies all human reason and understanding. As deeply as we deplore this incident, we are equally appalled at those who have helped to create the type of dangerous and inflammatory public attitude which makes such an act possible. . . . We now see the consequences which result from an open defiance of the law; we now pay the penalty for the type of disrespect and disregard for authority which has been publicly advocated by many in recent days. If the safety of our children is not sacred to all men, then the entire process of law and government is meaningless.”

The Governor ordered the high school closed for an indefinite period. An aide said that Mr. McNair spoke by telephone twice today with Attorney General John N. Mitchell to give a report of the clash. He was told that United States marshals would be sent to the tension-torn town, where more than 100 state police were already standing guard. In addition, Governor McNair ordered the National Guard to be alerted and a detachment of riot-trained soldiers was stationed at an armory at Hartsville, 12 miles from Lamar. . . .

Whites have boycotted the public schools in Lamar since they were desegregated February 18. A loosely formed group of white parents demanding a return of freedom of choice in the schools held several “clandestine” [secret] meetings recently, according to state law enforcement agents, and violent tactics were urged to countermand the desegregation order. . . .

The state police were sent into this town of 4,000 residents over the weekend when it was learned that the whites in the community were ready to employ more violent tactics. Yesterday

Freedom of choice means exactly what the phrase implies. It means that within a desegregated school district parents could send their children to whichever school they wished. Opponents claimed that even though a district was desegregated, this plan would allow individual schools within a district to remain either all-white or all-black.

a large group marched on the high school and were turned away by the police.

A crowd formed shortly after 7 o'clock this morning across the street from the high school and surged forward when the first bus carrying children pulled up. But the police safely escorted the children inside the building. However, when the next two buses arrived, the white men swarmed over them, smashing the windows and disabling the engines while the police tried to restrain them.

The terrified children inside the bus ducked behind seats as rocks crashed through the windows and white adults tried to force open the doors. Middle-aged farmers in blue denim overalls and snap-brim hats stood at the side of the yellow buses and whacked the windows with ax handles.

As the police tried to move the crowd away from the buses, other whites hurled bricks and cinder blocks over the roof of the vehicles, striking several policemen. At this point the police leveled riot shotguns at the crowd and revolvers were removed from holsters. . . .

After the police fired tear gas into the crowd, and the trembling children . . . were safely inside the high school, the crowd overturned the buses in the street before dispersing.

The New York Times, March 5, 1970, p. 19, © 1970 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Fifteen Are Arrested in Attack on Buses with Negro Children in South Carolina

A felony is a serious crime.

The state police arrested 15 white men tonight on felony charges of rioting in connection with the club-swinging attack yesterday on school buses carrying Negro students to a newly desegregated high school. . . . Warrants citing the same charges had also been prepared against 15 other local residents. The maximum penalty on conviction is five years in jail and a \$1,000 fine. . . .

An arraignment is the legal process of charging someone with a crime.

State troopers made the initial arrests before midnight. The accused men were placed in Darlington County jail for arraignment tomorrow before a county magistrate.

A magistrate is a local official, often having limited judicial functions.

The first man arrested was Jeryl Best, a 42-year-old restaurant owner from nearby Lydia and leader of the county's local freedom-of-choice organization, which had staged a demonstration outside Lamar High School . . . shortly before the disorder

began. . . . Mr. Best and six other men who had been identified by the police as leaders of the disorder were subpoenaed earlier in the day to appear in federal court as the government sought a permanent injunction to bar them from further interference with the court's order to desegregate the school.

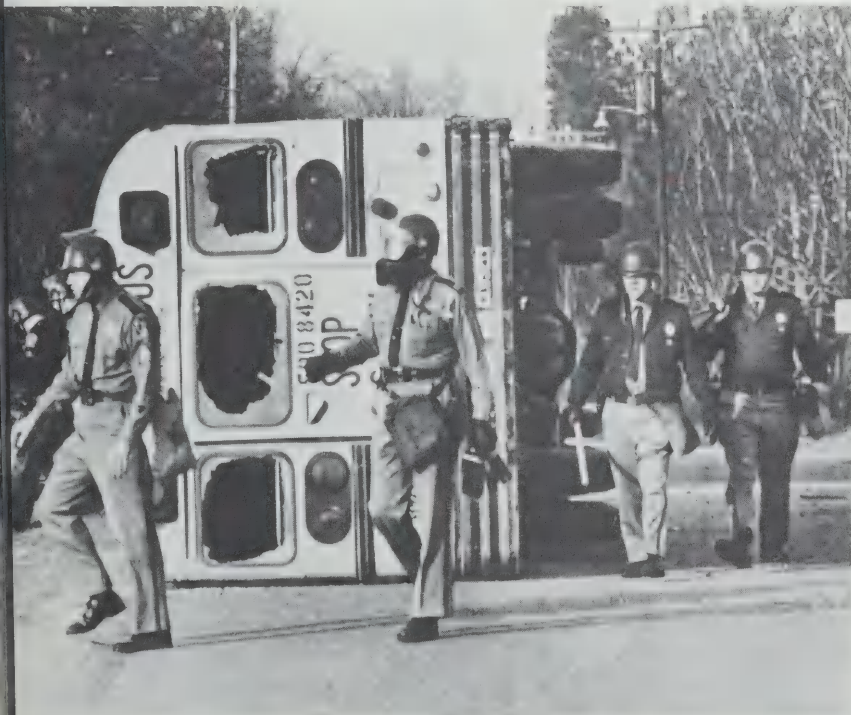
The arrests came while agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and United States marshals moved into this eastern South Carolina town as the Department of Justice investigated the attack on the school buses.

The school remained closed today and attendance elsewhere dropped sharply as the state police and a small contingent of the National Guard maintained order. . . . How long the peace could be [kept] appeared to rest with the police presence. Whites and blacks said they feared that violence would resume if the schools were reopened without the protection of the state troopers.

. . . Mr. Best, disclaimed [denied] any involvement in the violence. "I think it's the most terrible thing I've seen," he remarked. . . . He characterized those who attacked the buses

To be subpoenaed means to be legally ordered to appear in court.

An injunction is an order issued by a court.



► Under what conditions, if any, are citizens justified in destroying private property? in threatening bodily harm to people?

► How would you feel toward a government that failed to take action against those who violated the law or did bodily harm to others?

and children as “concerned citizens who lost their right way of thinking for a moment. . . .”

In an interview, Mr. Best said he would visit Washington soon in an attempt to place his appeal for a return of the Lamar schools to a freedom-of-choice plan before the new Presidential task force headed by Vice-President Agnew. “I definitely feel I can get results,” he said. “I definitely feel there’s been a change since the Nixon administration took over.”

Meanwhile, many whites . . . expressed concern that new violence would erupt unless criminal charges were pressed against those who participated in yesterday’s attack. “If the people who were responsible are not indicted, we’ll be living by the law of the jungle here,” said Ed Hurley, a planning supervisor at the local American Can Company plant.

FOR THOUGHT:

How should the political system deal with people who behave like the group at Lamar?

60 THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE: ALIENATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The actions of the mob in Lamar, South Carolina, challenged the ideology of the American political system. The members of the mob replaced the rule of law with terror and violence. American ideology stresses respect for each individual and the views he holds. The system cannot tolerate men who turn to violence to impose their opinions on others.

In the Soviet political system, the individual is less important than the group. Soviet ideology stresses collective welfare. Soviet leaders believe that the institution of private property turns men against each other. The interests of those who “have” inevitably conflict with the interests of those who “have not.” According to the Communists, conflict between men will cease only when society abolishes the institution of private property and man’s greed for individual profit ends.

In Reading 59, you learned that political alienation threatens the political system itself. Like the United States, the Soviet Union has dissenters. It, too, has individuals who are alienated from the system which continues to discriminate against them because they are members of an ethnic and religious minority. In Reading 60, you will read about such a group—members of the Soviet Union's Jewish population of three million. As you read about these Soviet Jews, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Why can the actions of these Jews be considered political alienation? How great a threat is it to the Soviet political system?
2. In what ways does Soviet political alienation differ from American political alienation? Give specific examples.

More Allowed to Leave, But Why Is a Mystery

The New York Times,
March 21, 1971, p. 5.
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Aeroflot is the Soviet airline.

At Sheremyetevo, Moscow's international airport, about 70 Soviet citizens boarded an Aeroflot flight to Vienna last week. It was, for the Soviet Union, a highly political event. The passengers—of all age groups—were leaving for good. And the permission for them to do so reflected an apparent policy decision in the Kremlin to let Jews emigrate to Israel in increasing numbers.

Without any public announcement, Soviet authorities in the past few weeks have altered their attitude toward many Jews. Now, when a Jew applies for a passport, he is treated civilly and not as a criminal. Requests to speak to officials about emigration are granted and, most important, more Jews are emigrating than were able to only a few months ago. This new shift in attitude has become known to many Jews, especially those who have waited for years for such permission, and it has created a sense of anticipation among them—as well as a certain recklessness.

There have been sit-ins in government office buildings and confrontations between Jews and Central Committee officials. In the past, such activity would have been immediately repressed; now, most of those who sit-in get their exit documents. . . .

► How much loyalty should
■ government expect from
members of an ethnic or
religious group when it
discriminates against them?

Despite the apparent easing of emigration rules, many Jews remain skeptical. One who has spoken freely to newsmen in the past said the other day that, as he was waiting at work to hear if he had received permission to leave the country, he got a phone call saying he must appear at the headquarters of the K.G.B. (secret police), presumably for questioning about his contacts with foreigners.

Some believe that the decision to ease up on Jewish emigration is a temporary one, timed for the 24th Communist Party Congress, which begins on March 30. Many Western Communist Party leaders will begin arriving here this week and the Soviet authorities, according to this view, would like to forestall [prevent] sit-ins and other demonstrations by Jews in the weeks ahead. In this atmosphere of rumor, expectation, and skepticism, hard facts are often difficult to come by. No one knows just how many Jews have applied to leave and how many would leave if permission were given freely.

There are an estimated three million Jews in the Soviet Union, out of a total population of 241 million. Like other Soviet people, the Jews . . . are denied the right to travel abroad freely. Anyone wishing to take even a short tourist trip abroad must undergo a time-consuming procedure similar to a security check, with character references and other documentation necessary each time an application is made.

For the average person, travel to a Western country is something he only hears about. Often, if one member of a family is allowed to leave, his spouse must remain at home like a hostage. Soviet citizens are permitted to join relatives abroad if the authorities are in a kind mood. Each year, for instance, several hundred Latvians, Lithuanians, and Armenians emigrate to the United States with a minimum of publicity, to be united with their families.

Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel usually have to prove they have relatives there, since Soviet authorities reject the Zionist view that Jews should live in Israel. Several thousand Jews are believed to have applied for permission to emigrate, and their persistent efforts have attracted world attention.

For the most part, those wishing to emigrate to Israel—and they may number as many as half a million—are trying to maintain their personal sense of Jewish identity; this is difficult to do in this country, where neither Jewish cultural nor religious life is encouraged. The majority of Jews are regarded as assimilated, although they often run into discrimination or abuse because they are Jews.

Since the Six-Day War in 1967, a new sense of Jewish nationalism seems to have sprung up here, particularly among the younger generation. This had increased the number of Jews seeking permission to leave. And that has confronted Soviet officials with additional problems in keeping down the number of Jewish emigrants so as not to embarrass the Soviet Union's Arab allies.

Although as many as 3,000 Jews have received permission to leave in other years, the number dropped to 1,000 last year. In 1970, a violent anti-Zionist campaign here seemed to intensify Jewish longing for emigration. This desire reached desperate extremes, highlighted by the thwarted plan of 10 Jews in Leningrad to hijack a plane to get to Israel.

The Leningrad trial last December had world-wide repercussions, arousing concern for Soviet Jewry and, apparently, causing authorities here to do some rethinking. Two death sentences meted [given] out in the trial were commuted, and several other trials of Jewish activists were postponed. In January, only about 50 Jews were allowed to emigrate, but in February the figure was tripled to 160. The rate is running even higher this month.

Jews here seem to feel that it would be better to wait until April, after the party Congress, to see if emigration is maintained at the present relatively high level—an average of 15 a day—or whether it is simply a bit of cosmetics for the Congress.

Russians Said to Arrest Group Protesting Detention of 20 Jews

Jewish sources reported today that the authorities had detained a group of people delivering a petition on behalf of some 20 Jews awaiting trial in three cities on charges of anti-Soviet activity. . . .

The petitioning group, reported to number 33, including six women, was said to have taken its appeal yesterday to the office of the Soviet Union's highest law enforcement officer, Roman A. Rudenko, who bears the title of procurator general.

It could not be learned what had happened at the office, but the sources said that, as a result of the visit, 31 of the group had been charged with "petty hooliganism" and quickly sentenced

The Six-Day War, between the Arabs and the Israelis, took place June 5–10, 1967.

► If you were a member of an oppressed minority, how would you feel about leaving the country while millions of others were left behind to face continued discrimination?

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to 10 to 15 days in a workhouse. The charge, roughly equivalent to breach of the peace, is punishable by a maximum of 15 days. Offenders come before a single judge and have no right of appeal. Two of the petitioners were reported to have been confined in Moscow's Kashchenko Mental Hospital.

The petition, signed by a total of 140 persons, complained that the 20 Jews . . . had been detained for up to nine months without access to friends, family, or defense counsel. This is the maximum period of confinement permitted by the Soviet code of criminal procedure in connection with a pretrial investigation. . . .

All those awaiting trial were detained at various times after the arrest of 12 persons in June in a Leningrad plane hijacking case. The 12, all but two of whom are Jews, were sentenced to labor camp terms in December.

The Leningrad hijacking plotters were among thousands of Jews who have applied for emigration to Israel on the ground that their opportunities for ethnic cultural activities are limited in the Soviet Union.

A reported recent increase in exit permits was viewed here as another aspect of current efforts to avoid troublesome incidents while thousands of delegates from all over the Soviet Union and foreign Communist leaders are in Moscow for the party Congress.

As a result of a sharp increase of departures in March, as many as 700 Jews are believed to have left so far this year compared with about 1,000 in all of 1970.

FOR THOUGHT:

What happened to these alienated Soviet citizens? What does their fate reveal about the way in which an authoritarian system treats alienated people?

61 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

During the 1960's, as the American government became involved in a major military conflict in Vietnam, there was substantial difference of opinion about the wisdom of American involvement. Some saw the activities of the Vietcong as part of a campaign to destroy democratic government all over the world.

Others saw the fighting as a local skirmish between two factions competing for the right to govern a small country.

In the midst of this controversy, young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six were being drafted into the armed services. The great majority of men who were drafted decided to serve. Some young men, however, questioned the government's right to send them to fight a war in which they felt the United States should not be involved. They registered as conscientious objectors. These men, if drafted, were either assigned to noncombat duty in the army, usually as medical attendants, or to civilian jobs with recognized service organizations.

The problem of the conscientious objector was widely debated. Should the status be reserved for those belonging to religious groups known to preach pacifism? Is it necessary to believe in God to be a conscientious objector? What is a man's duty to his country? Does a man owe first allegiance to his conscience or to his nation? All of these questions were raised, and many different answers were given.

Tom Rodd was a young man who asked himself these questions. Finally, he concluded that the draft law itself violated his principles. Five days after his eighteenth birthday, the time limit set by law for registering for the draft, he went to the federal attorney's office and asked to be arrested. He felt that as a conscientious objector, he could not support war even to the extent of registering for the draft. As you read about Tom Rodd, keep the following questions in mind:

1. Why did Tom refuse to register for the draft? What would happen if everyone, or even a majority, refused to serve in the armed forces?
2. Why did Judge Rosenberg sentence Tom to four years in a federal reformatory?
3. Is civil disobedience a form of dissent or alienation?

Four Ways To Go: Tommy Rodd Went to Jail

"Dear Friend:

I love you. Stripped to the bare essentials, that is my message. I care for you; I rejoice in your existence. If, like me, you are often casting about for certainties to hold onto, let my love for

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you become one of them. And if you accept this love, I am presumptuous enough to ask you to read and hear the rest of this message.

My name is Tom Rodd. I am nineteen years old and was raised in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania . . .”

Thomas Whitney Rodd, 31522, began his “I love you” message shortly before entering the federal reformatory in Petersburg, Virginia, for four years. He is a pacifist who refused to register for the draft and violated his parole by demonstrating against the Vietnamese war. . . .

. . . It could have been so easy for Tommy Rodd. . . . Tommy had advantages, the best of upper-middle-class advantages: a quiet street, a fourteen-room house built by the mayor of Pittsburgh in 1902, his own room . . .

To his friends and neighbors, Tommy was simply a good-looking aristocrat who never appeared to suffer . . .

And yet on the gray morning of March 26, 1964, five days after Tommy Rodd turned eighteen, he showed up in Room 633 of the federal building in downtown Pittsburgh and told federal attorney Gustave Diamond that he would not register for the draft. . . .

In April, Tommy was indicted by a federal grand jury for his failure to register for the draft. One month later, at Tommy’s arraignment, federal judge Joseph P. Willson refused to accept his guilty plea because he had insisted on representing himself. . . .

On June 9, a sentence hearing was held before Judge Louis Rosenberg in federal court.

. . . Tom [testified]: “Yes . . . obviously I am trying to raise the question of the draft; that is one of my motives. But even if I didn’t, and even if the penalty were possibly twenty-five years, and I couldn’t get it into the papers, and I couldn’t get people talking about it, and there was no one in the courtroom, then I would still do it, because it is something my conscience and my God have led me to.

“ . . . I am a civil disobedient. That was the term that was coined by Henry David Thoreau. It means that a person so respects the institution of law, and the laws of our country, that he openly, willingly, submits himself to prosecution while that law exists.

“ . . . I suppose I could have gone to Canada and not registered at all. But it was because of this duty to our laws and because of this duty to society that has set up these laws that I have turned

An aristocrat is a member of a privileged class. It is derived from the Greek word *aristos*, meaning *best*.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was an American philosopher, poet, and writer. In 1845, his opposition to war with Mexico and the spread of slavery led him to refuse to pay his taxes. He was arrested and spent one night in jail. Subsequently, he wrote a defense of his actions in an essay entitled *Civil Disobedience* (1849), in which he said: “If the law . . . requires you to be an agent of injustice to another, then I say, break the law.”

myself in. That is why I stand here today. And my conscience is very clear. And life has been very good to me. Thank you."

... Judge Rosenberg questioned Tom. "Do you think the Russians would respect the nonviolence that you are preaching? Do you think they would stay on their own side and let us alone?"

"I think as human beings and as children of God, they have souls too; they can be appealed to."

"All right."

Tommy was sent to the Ashland, Kentucky, Federal Correctional Institution for "observation and study."...

One morning Judge Rosenberg received a three-page letter from Tommy Rodd, who was still in Ashland. Tommy knew that the judge had three choices once the Ashland period was over: to parole him if he could get into college; to place him on probation and work out a two-year sentence with a court-approved service agency; or to sentence him to five years in a federal jail.



► Suppose everyone decided for himself when to obey the law and when not to obey. Could society operate?

During World War II, Iwo Jima, an island in the western Pacific, was the site of a Japanese airbase. It was captured by the Americans with heavy casualties in 1945.

Adolf Eichmann was convicted and executed for his part in the killing of Jews during World War II.

► What would you do if you were expected to obey a law that in your judgment violated your conscience?

Tommy would have preferred college, possibly The University of Chicago or Pittsburgh.

In the letter, Tommy recalled an incident in Binghamton, New York: he was standing on the downtown courthouse steps lashing out at the draft when a youth walked up and smashed him in the jaw.

"I fell down, then got up. Several of his friends were restraining him; I asked them to let him go and told him I wouldn't fight back, that I bore him no hatred, and would he like to talk. He walked away, but came back. We talked, had coffee—his father had been killed at Iwo Jima. I spent that night at his house; in the morning he gave me a St. Christopher's medal which I have today. What would have happened if I had hit him? This sort of thing has happened too often to let me avoid the conclusion that true communication cannot be based upon violence.

"Sometimes, your honor, civil disobedience is a mandatory act. No United States law can be ruled unconstitutional until a person breaks it—so decided Justice Marshall. What of the Boston Tea Party? Those who courageously defied the Fugitive Slave Law? What was Eichmann's crime, essentially? It was that he obeyed the law, even when it contradicted a higher morality. This is the essence of the Nuremberg decision: that when conscience and the state conflict, conscience must be obeyed."

Tommy returned to the Allegheny County jail for five weeks . . .

On August 18 he was called before Judge Rosenberg. The judge, armed with the report from Ashland, said that "This young man has perhaps been guided and taught wrongly from early childhood, because, when he was eight years old, he had already told his teacher how things should be run.

"He knew better than the teacher, and later in his life he did the same thing. He was one of those who demonstrated . . . not because it was for the sake of canceling out war, but because it put him into a position where he could exhibit his own ego."

"I can't send you to college," said the judge a few moments later. "You have put yourself in the position that you did. I didn't put you there. You are there, and you will have to face it.

"And if you think that your martyrdom will carry you through, that is your function in a constitutionally free America. In governments such as we have, even you are permitted to violate the law, even serious law, in chaotic fashion, but we must deal with you for the purpose of preservation of society. And that is what I propose to do."

Tommy was ordered to join an approved service group, such as the Peace Corps or the International Voluntary Services, Inc., or go to prison for five years. Later, when the plan for probation was worked out, the probation included a provision that Tommy could not participate in any demonstrations. . . .

For one year Tommy worked at the American Friends warehouse, processing and shipping clothes to Algerian refugees. In the second year, Tommy moved to 3945 Fairmount Avenue in Mantua, in the heart of the ghetto, where he was a weekend work-camp leader for the Friends Social Order Committee. He shared the fire-scarred building, a former warehouse, with two V.I.S.T.A. workers and a large, gentle Negro conscientious objector. By day, the four worked in the neighborhood, painting houses, nailing, fixing broken windows. At night they worked on their own house. . . . There was also tutoring of the neighborhood kids and speeches to Quaker groups and, on weekends, freshmen from Haverford or Temple would show up and work in the neighborhood during the day and sleep on the blankets and in the sleeping bags in Tommy's third-floor bedroom.

"So here is Tom Rodd. I have tried, Lord knows, to obey this probation. I wanted to go to Selma and walk to Montgomery—but I didn't. I wanted to go to Washington and confront the President—but I didn't. . . . I wanted to help picket a nonunion store on Lanchester Avenue in West Philadelphia—but I didn't.

"But this war is too immediate, too pressing, too terrible for me to have to say later: 'but I didn't.'"

The Vietnam war was escalating, and Tommy's friends were demonstrating in Washington, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York. How could he stand by? How could he watch? What was this commitment, this labor, this devotion for? *"This war is a sin."*

In November 1965 Norman Morrison burned himself to death outside the Pentagon to protest the war. Tommy was stunned. "I had to do something. I could have waited a few months until my probation period ended, but it was a question of living with myself. I decided to break my probation."

On a cold and gray morning, December 30, 1965, about 160 pickets demonstrated at the Boeing Corporation's Vertol Division in Morton, Pennsylvania, to protest Vertol's production of helicopters for the war. They carried the usual signs, "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam," and the 250 American Legionnaires across the street carried their usual signs, "Free Matches and Gas for You Peace Creeps," and there were the usual arrests

(twenty-six of them), and one of the demonstrators arrested was nineteen-year-old Tom Rodd.

Weeks before, he had sent a letter to everyone—to Judge Rosenberg, Bill and Betts [his parents], neighbors in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, “brave friends already in prison, girls I have kissed, guitar-picking comrades, Presidents, congressmen, peace actionists, men and women of good will all over the world.

“I now take action and will continue to take action that will invite you, force you to abandon this war or do violence to me. One is never sure of the truth, but if I am right, and if I and all others like myself are firm and loving in our noncooperation and our sacrifice, I believe that we will prevail, someday.”

On January 7, 1966, Tommy again confronted Judge Rosenberg. The courtroom was packed. Outside, four young men and women staged a silent vigil and carried a sign: “He Did It for Love.”

Tommy looked gaunt and frightened. The \$8 suit that he had bought in Mantua sagged. He asked and was given permission to read a statement.

“I am forced by my conscience to stand as a representative of the suffering millions of Vietnam. I am forced to stand for the girl child burned to death in Bien Hoa, for the refugee cold and hungry in a camp on the outskirts of Saigon, for the weary guerrilla fighter, for the Buddhist monk who is now a handful of ashes, for the thousands with no legs, thousands more with no eyes, and even for the U.S. Marine now slowly dying in a Philadelphia hospital.

“These people are my constituency. I stand for them. And my word from them to this government, to this country is this: ‘Stop this war! Your dominoes, your escalation, your computer theories, your phony negotiations are at best inhuman madness and at worst insidious, deliberate lies. Your war, all wars, are immoral and insane. Stop it. Withdraw U.S. troops now. End the war in Vietnam.’”

He spoke for eight minutes. Judge Rosenberg then summoned him to the bar and in thirty seconds ordered him placed in federal prison for four years.

Tommy blinked. The audience was stunned. . . .

FOR THOUGHT:

On what grounds, if any, do you think that civil disobedience can be justified?

► How valid is the claim of any one person to speak for millions of others involved in a war which he opposes?

Individual and Group Activities for Chapter 11

For full descriptions of these activities, turn to the **Student Activity Book** included among the materials for individual and group activities.

Activity 11A: Picture essay or survey of school citizenship (individual or group)

Examine citizenship in your school, either by compiling a picture essay illustrating citizenship in the student body, or by developing and administering a survey to determine knowledge of the participation in current school issues among the students. Summarize either activity in a short essay analyzing your findings about citizenship in your school.

Activity 11B: Civil liberties debate (group)

Select an opponent for a debate or, if you have a debating partner, select a pair of opponents. Then choose a topic involving a contemporary controversy about civil liberties. Gather information about your debate topic and put on the debate—either in class or on an audio- or video-tape recording.

Activity 11C: Skit comparing two expressions of Soviet dissent (group)

Reading 17 in the **Book of Readings** describes two examples of Soviet citizenship. After completing these selections, prepare a skit whose theme is a conversation between Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Svetlana Alliluyeva, which illustrates and compares the extent of each individual's dissatisfaction with the Soviet government.

APPENDIX

The Constitution of the United States of America

(The portions of the Constitution printed in brackets are either out of date or changed by amendment. The descriptive headings have been added for your convenience.)

Preamble

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

Article 1. Legislative Department

SECTION 1. CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. *Election and term of office.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. *Qualifications for representatives.* No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. *Apportionment of representatives and direct taxes.* Representatives [and direct taxes] shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, ac-

cording to their respective numbers, [which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed 1 for every 30,000, but each state shall have at least 1 representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina 5; and Georgia 3.]

4. *Filling vacancies.* When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. *Election of officers; impeachment.* The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. SENATE

1. *Number of senators and term of office.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, [chosen by the legislature thereof,] for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.

2. *Classification; filling vacancies.* [Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]

3. *Qualifications for senators.* No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. *President of the Senate.* The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. *Other officers.* The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. *Trials of impeachment.* The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. *Punishment for conviction.* Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or

profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. ELECTIONS AND MEETINGS OF CONGRESS

1. *Regulation of elections.* The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. *Meetings.* The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, [and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December,] unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. RULES OF PROCEDURE

1. *Membership and sittings.* Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. *Proceedings.* Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. *Journal.* Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. *Adjournment.* Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES AND RESTRICTIONS

1. *Salary and privileges.* The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and

returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. *Restrictions.* No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

1. *Revenue bills.* All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. *How a bill becomes a law.* Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. *Presidential approval or veto.* Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Rep-

resentatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS DELEGATED TO CONGRESS

The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, [grant letters of marque and reprisal,] and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia

according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. POWERS DENIED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. [The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 for each person.]

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports

of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article 2. Executive Department

SECTION 1. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

1. *Term of office.* The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. *Electoral system.* Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof

may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. *Election of President and Vice-President.* [The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons,

of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President; if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

4. *Time of elections.* The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. *Qualifications for President.* No person except a natural-born citizen, [or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution,] shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. *Filling vacancies.* [In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of

removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.]

7. *Salary.* The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. *Oath of office.* Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. *Powers over the military and executive departments; reprieves and pardons.* The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. *Treaties and appointments.* He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. *Filling vacancies.* The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may

happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may ad-

journal them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article 3. Judicial Department

SECTION 1. FEDERAL COURTS

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF FEDERAL COURTS

1. *General jurisdiction.* The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. *Supreme Court.* In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls,

and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. *Conduct of trials.* The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON

1. *Definition.* Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. *Punishment.* The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article 4. Relations Among the States

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

1. *Privileges.* The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. *Extradition.* A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who

shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. *Fugitive slaves.* [No person held in service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.]

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

1. *Admission of new states.* New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction

of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. *Power of Congress over territories and other property.* The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION 4. GUARANTEES TO THE STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article 5. Methods of Amendment

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the sev-

eral states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that [no amendments which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that] no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article 6. General Provisions

1. *Public debts.* All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. *The supreme law of the land.* This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in

the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. *Oaths of office; no religious test.* The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article 7. Ratification

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment

of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of

the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Amendment 1. Freedom of Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, and Petition (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom

of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment 2. Right to Keep Arms (1791)

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the peo-

ple to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment 3. Quartering of Troops (1791)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the

owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment 4. Searches and Seizures; Warrants (1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon

probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

Amendment 5. Rights of Accused Persons (1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous, crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be

twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment 6. Right to Speedy and Public Trial (1791)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed

of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Amendment 7. Jury Trial in Civil Cases (1791)

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no

fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment 8. Bail, Fines, Punishments (1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual

punishments inflicted.

Amendment 9. Powers Reserved to the People (1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or

disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment 10. Powers Reserved to the States (1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it

to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Amendment 11. Suits Against States (1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted

against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Amendment 12. Election of President and Vice-President (1804)

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the Presi-

dent, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. [And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.] The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment 13. Slavery Abolished (1865)

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or

any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment 14. Rights of Citizens (1868)

SECTION 1. *Citizenship defined.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. *Apportionment of representatives.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SECTION 3. *Disability for engaging in insurrection.* No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. *Public debt.* The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, [or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave;] but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. *Enforcement.* The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment 15. Rights of Suffrage (1870)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment 16. Income Tax (1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the

several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment 17. Election of Senators (1913)

SECTION 1. *Method of election.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

SECTION 2. *Filling vacancies.* When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such

state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided* that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

[SECTION 3. *Not retroactive.* This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.]

Amendment 18. National Prohibition (1919)

[SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce

this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.]

Amendment 19. Woman Suffrage (1920)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment 20. "Lame Duck" Amendment (1933)

SECTION 1. *Beginning of terms.* The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of senators and representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. *Beginning of congressional sessions.* The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 2. *Presidential succession.* If at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen

before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. *Filling Presidential vacancy.* The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the

death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

[SECTION 5. *Effective date.* Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Amendment 21. Repeal of Prohibition (1933)

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 6. *Time limit for ratification.* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.]

[SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.]

Amendment 22. Two-Term Limit for Presidents (1951)

SECTION 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. [But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or

acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.]

[SECTION 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.]

Amendment 23. Presidential Electors for District of Columbia (1961)

SECTION 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of senators and representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those ap-

pointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment 24. Poll Tax Banned in National Elections (1964)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for senator or representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or

any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment 25. Presidential Disability and Succession (1967)

1. In case of the removal of the President from office or his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.

2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take the office upon confirmation of a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

3. Whenever the President transmits to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

4. Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately

assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment 26. Lowering the Voting Age (1971)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of age.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Constitution

(Fundamental Law)

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

As Amended by the First Session of the Seventh Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Chapter 1

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

ARTICLE 1 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

ARTICLE 2 The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists and the attainment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ARTICLE 3 All power in the U.S.S.R. is vested in the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

ARTICLE 4 The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as a result of abolishing the capitalist system of economy, the private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the exploitation of man by man.

ARTICLE 5 Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative and collective-farm property (the property of collective farms or co-operative societies).

ARTICLE 6 The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, the factories and mines, rail, water and air transport facilities, the banks, means of communication, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations, etc.), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling-houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

ARTICLE 7 The enterprises of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, with their livestock, buildings, implements, and output, are the common, socialist property of the collective farms and co-operative organizations.

Every collective-farm household, in addition to its basic income from the collective farm, has for its own use a small plot of land attached to the house and, as its own property, a dwelling-house, livestock, poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in conformity with the Rules of the Agricultural Artel.

ARTICLE 8 The land occupied by the collective farms is made over to them for their free use for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

ARTICLE 9 In addition to the socialist system of economy, which is the predominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law permits the small private undertakings of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their own labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

ARTICLE 10 The right of citizens to own, as their personal property, income and savings derived from work, to own a dwelling-house and a supplementary husbandry, articles of household and articles of personal use and convenience, is protected by law, as is also the right of citizens to inherit personal property.

ARTICLE 11 The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and guided by the state economic plan for the purpose of increasing the wealth of society, steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people and strengthening the independence of the U.S.S.R. and its defense potential.

ARTICLE 12 Work in the U.S.S.R. is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II

THE STATE STRUCTURE

ARTICLE 13 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 14 The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, covers:

a) Representation of the U.S.S.R. in international relations, conclusion, ratification and denunciation of treaties of the U.S.S.R. with other states, establishment of general procedure governing the relations of the Union Republics with foreign states;

b) Questions of war and peace;

c) Admission of new republics into the U.S.S.R.;

d) Control over the observance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and ensuring conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

e) Approval of changes to boundaries between Union Republics;

f) Approval of the formation of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions within Union Republics;

g) Organization of the defense of the U.S.S.R., direction of all the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R., formulation of principles guiding the organization of the military formations of the Union Republics;

h) Foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly;

i) State security;

j) Approval of the economic plans of the U.S.S.R.;

k) Approval of the consolidated state budget of the U.S.S.R. and of the report on its implementation; fixing taxes and revenues that go to the Union, Republican, and local budgets;

l) Administration of banks and industrial, agricultural, and trading enterprises and institutions under Union jurisdiction; general direction of industry and building under Union-Republican jurisdiction;

m) Administration of transport and communications of all-Union importance;

n) Direction of the monetary and credit system;

o) Organization of state insurance;

p) Contracting and granting of loans;

q) Definition of the basic principles of land tenure and of the use of mineral wealth, forests, and waters;

r) Definition of the basic principles in the spheres of education and public health;

s) Organization of a uniform system of economic statistics;

t) Definition of the fundamentals of labor legislation;

u) Definition of the fundamentals of legislation on the judicial system and judicial procedure and the fundamentals of civil and criminal legislation;

v) Legislation on Union citizenship; legislation on rights of foreigners;

w) Definition of the fundamentals of legislation on marriage and the family;

x) Promulgation of all-Union acts of amnesty.

ARTICLE 15 The sovereignty of the Union Republics is limited only in the spheres defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Outside of these spheres each Union Republic exercises state authority independently. The U.S.S.R. protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 16 Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 17 The right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to every Union Republic.

ARTICLE 18 The territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent.

ARTICLE 18-a Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

ARTICLE 18-b Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations.

ARTICLE 19 The laws of the U.S.S.R. have the same force within the territory of every Union Republic.

ARTICLE 20 In the event of divergence between a law of a Union Republic and a law of the Union, the Union law shall prevail.

ARTICLE 21 Uniform Union citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 22 The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic includes the Bashkirian, Buryat, Checheno-Ingush, Chuvash, Dagestan, Kabardinian-Balkar, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Tatar, Tuva, Udmurt and Yakut Autonomous Soviet

Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Gorny Altai, Jewish, Karachai-Cherkess and Khakass Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 23 *Repealed.*

ARTICLE 24 The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 25 The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian and Ajarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 26 The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ARTICLE 27 The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorny Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

ARTICLE 28 The settlement of questions pertaining to the regional or territorial administrative division of the Union Republics comes within the jurisdiction of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 29 *Repealed.*

Chapter III

THE HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 30 The highest organ of state power in the U.S.S.R. is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 31 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. exercises all rights vested in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the U.S.S.R. that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the Ministries of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 32 The legislative power of the U.S.S.R. is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 33 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 34 The Soviet of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population.

ARTICLE 35 The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. voting by Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Areas on the basis of 32 deputies from each Union Republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic, 5 deputies from each Autonomous Region, and one deputy from each National Area.

ARTICLE 36 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is elected for a term of four years.

ARTICLE 37 The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, have equal rights.

ARTICLE 38 The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have equal powers to initiate legislation.

ARTICLE 39 A law is considered adopted if passed by both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by a simple majority vote in each.

ARTICLE 40 Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are published in the languages of the Union Republics over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 41 Sessions of the Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet of Nationalities begin and terminate simultaneously.

ARTICLE 42 The Soviet of the Union elects a Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and four Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 43 The Soviet of Nationalities elects a Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and four Vice-Chairmen.

ARTICLE 44 The Chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities preside at the sittings of the respective chambers and have charge of the conduct of their business and proceedings.

ARTICLE 45 Joint sittings of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are presided over alternately by the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union and the Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

ARTICLE 46 Sessions of the Supreme Soviet

of the U.S.S.R. are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 47 In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on a parity basis. If the conciliation commission fails to arrive at an agreement or if its decision fails to satisfy one of the chambers, the question is considered for a second time by the chambers. Failing agreement between the two chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and orders new elections.

ARTICLE 48 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. at a joint sitting of the two chambers elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., fifteen Vice-Presidents—one from each Union Republic, a Secretary of the Presidium and twenty members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for all its activities.

ARTICLE 49 The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;

b) Issues ordinances;

c) Interprets the laws of the U.S.S.R. in operation;

d) Dissolves the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in conformity with Article 47 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and orders new elections;

e) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums) on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics;

f) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics if they do not conform to law;

g) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., appoints or

removes Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;

h) Institutes decorations (Orders and Medals) and titles of honor of the U.S.S.R.;

i) Awards Orders and Medals and confers titles of honor of the U.S.S.R.;

j) Exercises the right of pardon;

k) Institutes military titles, diplomatic ranks and other special titles;

l) Appoints and removes the high command of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.;

m) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., proclaims a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R., or when necessary to fulfil international treaty obligations providing for mutual defense against aggression;

n) Orders general or partial mobilization;

o) Ratifies and denounces international treaties of the U.S.S.R.;

p) Appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the U.S.S.R. to foreign states;

q) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states;

r) Proclaims martial law in separate localities or throughout the U.S.S.R. in the interests of the defense of the U.S.S.R. or of the maintenance of law and order and the security of the state.

ARTICLE 50 The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities elect Credentials Committees to verify the credentials of the members of the respective chambers.

On the report of the Credentials Committees, the chambers decide whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

ARTICLE 51 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of inquiry and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

ARTICLE 52 No member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme

Soviet of the U.S.S.R., or, when the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 53 On the expiry of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., or on its dissolution prior to the expiry of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall have formed a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 54 On the expiry of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., or in the event of its dissolution prior to the expiry of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiry of the term of office or dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 55 The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than three months after the elections.

ARTICLE 56 The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., at a joint sitting of the two chambers, appoints the Government of the U.S.S.R., namely, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Chapter IV

THE HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER IN THE UNION REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 57 The highest organ of state power in a Union Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 58 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years.

The basis of representation is established by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 59 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Republic.

ARTICLE 60 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic:

a) Adopts the Constitution of the Republic and amends it in conformity with Article 16 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

b) Confirms the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics forming part of it and defines the boundaries of their territory;

c) Approves the economic plan and the budget of the Republic;

d) Exercises the right of amnesty and pardon of citizens sentenced by the judicial bodies of the Union Republic;

e) Decides upon the representation of the Union Republic in its international relations;

f) Determines the manner of organizing the Republic's military formations.

ARTICLE 61 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, consisting of the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic are defined by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 62 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairmen to conduct its sittings.

ARTICLE 63 The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic appoints the Government of the Union Republic, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic.

Chapter V

THE ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 64 The highest executive and administrative organ of the state power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 65 The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is responsible and accountable

to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 66 The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and verifies their execution.

ARTICLE 67 Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. are binding throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 68 The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.:

a) Co-ordinates and directs the work of the all-Union and Union-Republican Ministries of the U.S.S.R., the State Committees of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and of other bodies under its jurisdiction;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the economic plan and the state budget, and to strengthen the credit and monetary system;

c) Adopts measures for the maintenance of law and order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

d) Exercises general guidance in the sphere of relations with foreign states;

e) Fixes the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for military service and directs the general organization of the Armed Forces of the country;

f) Sets up State Committees of the U.S.S.R., and, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Boards under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for economic and cultural affairs and defense.

ARTICLE 69 The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has the right, in respect of those branches of administration and economy which come within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R., to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics and to annul orders and instructions of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and also statutory acts of other bodies under its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 70 The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and consists of:

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

First Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Building Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Material and Technical Supply;

Chairman of the People's Control Committee of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Labor and Wages Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Science and Technology;

Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Vocational Training;

Chairman of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Farm Produce Purchases;

Chairman of the State Forestry Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.;

Chairman of the All-Union Board of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for the Supply of Farm Machinery, Fuel, and Fertilizers;

Chairman of the Administrative Board of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R.;

Chief of the Central Statistical Board under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. includes the Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics by virtue of their office.

ARTICLE 71 The Government of the U.S.S.R. or a Minister of the U.S.S.R. to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the respective Chamber within a period not exceeding three days.

ARTICLE 72 The Ministers of the U.S.S.R. direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 73 The Ministers of the U.S.S.R., within the limits of the jurisdiction of their

respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and also of decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and verify their execution.

ARTICLE 74 The Ministries of the U.S.S.R. are either all-Union or Union-Republican Ministries.

ARTICLE 75 The all-Union Ministries direct the branch of state administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. either directly or through bodies appointed by them.

ARTICLE 76 The Union-Republican Ministries, as a rule, direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them through the relevant Ministries of the Union Republics; they administer directly only a certain limited number of enterprises according to a list approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 77 The following are all-Union Ministries:

- Ministry of the Aircraft Industry;
- Ministry of the Automobile Industry;
- Ministry of Foreign Trade;
- Ministry of the Gas Industry;
- Ministry of Civil Aviation;
- Ministry of Machine-Building for the Light and Food Industries and Household Appliances;
- Ministry of the Merchant Marine;
- Ministry of the Defense Industry;
- Ministry of General Engineering;
- Ministry of Instrument-Making, Means of Automation and Control Systems;
- Ministry of Railways;
- Ministry of the Radio Industry;
- Ministry of Medium Machine-Building;
- Ministry of the Tool-Making Industry;
- Ministry of Building, Road, and Communal Machinery;
- Ministry of Shipbuilding;
- Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building;
- Ministry of Transport Building;
- Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Engineering;
- Ministry of Chemical and Oil Machine-Building;
- Ministry of the Electronic Industry;
- Ministry of the Electro-Technical Industry.

ARTICLE 78 The following are Union-Republican Ministries:

Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education;
 Ministry of Geological Survey;
 Ministry of Public Health;
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
 Ministry of Culture;
 Ministry of the Light Industry;
 Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Woodworking Industry;
 Ministry of Melioration and Water Conservancy;
 Ministry of Assembly and Specialized Building Work;
 Ministry of the Meat-Packing and Dairy Industry;
 Ministry of the Oil Extracting Industry;
 Ministry of the Oil Refining and Petrochemical Industry;
 Ministry of Defense;
 Ministry of Maintaining Public Order;
 Ministry of the Food Industry;
 Ministry of the Building Materials Industry;
 Ministry of Public Education;
 Ministry of Fisheries;
 Ministry of Communications;
 Ministry of Agriculture;
 Ministry of Trade;
 Ministry of the Coal Industry;
 Ministry of Finance;
 Ministry of the Chemical Industry;
 Ministry of Non-ferrous Metallurgy;
 Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy;
 Ministry of Electric Power Development and Electrification.

Chapter VI

THE ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 79 The highest executive and administrative organ of the state power of a Union Republic is the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 80 The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 81 The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republic, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and verifies their execution.

ARTICLE 82 The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of its Autonomous Republics, and to annul decisions and orders of the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of its Territories, Regions and Autonomous Regions.

ARTICLE 83 The Council of Ministers of a Union Republic is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic;

The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers;

The Ministers;

The Chairmen of State Committees, Commissions, and the heads of other departments of the Council of Ministers set up by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic in conformity with the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 84 The Ministers of a Union Republic direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 85 The Ministers of a Union Republic, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republic, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic, and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 86 The Ministries of a Union Republic are either Union-Republican or Republican Ministries.

ARTICLE 87 Each Union-Republican Ministry directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 88 Each Republican Ministry directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it, and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Union Republic.

Chapter VII

THE HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER IN THE AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ARTICLE 89 The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 90 The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years on a basis of representation established by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 91 The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous Republic.

ARTICLE 92 Each Autonomous Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Autonomous Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 93 The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and appoints the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with its Constitution.

Chapter VIII

THE LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER

ARTICLE 94 The organs of state power in Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions, Areas, Districts, cities, and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks, auls) are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

ARTICLE 95 The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions, Areas, Districts, cities, and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, kishlaks,

auls) are elected by the working people of the respective Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions, Areas, Districts, cities, and rural localities for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 96 The basis of representation for Soviets of Working People's Deputies is determined by the Constitutions of the Union Republics.

ARTICLE 97 The Soviets of Working People's Deputies direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws, protect the rights of citizens, direct local economic and cultural affairs, and draw up and approve local budgets.

ARTICLE 98 The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republic.

ARTICLE 99 The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a Territory, Region, Autonomous Region, Area, District, city, or rural locality is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and members.

ARTICLE 100 The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies in a small locality, in accordance with the Constitution of the Union Republic, is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

ARTICLE 101 The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organ of the superior Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Chapter IX

THE COURTS AND THE PROCURATOR'S OFFICE

ARTICLE 102 In the U.S.S.R. justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Courts of the Union

Republics, the Courts of the Territories, Regions, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and Areas, the Special Courts of the U.S.S.R., established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the People's Courts.

ARTICLE 103 In all courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE 104 The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial bodies of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics within the limits established by law.

ARTICLE 105 The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. includes the Chairmen of the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics by virtue of their office.

ARTICLE 106 The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 107 The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 108 The Courts of Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions and Areas are elected by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the respective Territories, Regions, Autonomous Regions or Areas for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 109 People's Judges of District (City) People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the districts (cities) on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of five years.

People's Assessors of District (City) People's Courts are elected at general meetings of industrial, office and professional workers, and peasants in the place of their work or residence, and of servicemen in military units, for a term of two years.

ARTICLE 110 Judicial proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, Autonomous Republic or Autonomous Region, persons not knowing this language being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting

themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

ARTICLE 111 In all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defense.

ARTICLE 112 Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 113 Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by people in office and citizens of the U.S.S.R. generally, is vested in the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 114 The Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of seven years.

ARTICLE 115 Procurators of Republics, Territories, Regions, Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions are appointed by the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 116 Area, district and city procurators are appointed by the Procurators of the Union Republics, subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., for a term of five years.

ARTICLE 117 The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of all local bodies, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R.

Chapter X

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

ARTICLE 118 Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

ARTICLE 119 Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure.

The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of a seven-hour day for industrial, office, and professional workers, the reduction of the working day to six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for industrial, office, and professional workers, and by placing a wide network of sanatoriums, holiday homes, and clubs at the disposal of the working people.

ARTICLE 120 Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of industrial, office, and professional workers at state expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

ARTICLE 121 Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory eight-year education; by extensive development of secondary polytechnical education, vocational-technical education, and secondary specialized and higher education based on close ties between the school, real life, and production activities; by the utmost development of evening and extramural education; by free education in all schools; by a system of state scholarship grants; by instruction in schools in the native language, and by the organization of free vocational, technical, and agronomic training for the working people in the factories, state farms, and collective farms.

ARTICLE 122 Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded all rights on an equal footing with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, and other social activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded the same rights as men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and also by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.

ARTICLE 123 Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other social activity, is an infeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, are punishable by law.

ARTICLE 124 In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

ARTICLE 125 In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:

- a) freedom of speech;
- b) freedom of the press;
- c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
- d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities, and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

ARTICLE 126 In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed the right to unite in mass organizations—trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical, and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class, working peasants, and working intelligentsia voluntarily unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build Communist society and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both government and non-government.

ARTICLE 127 Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are

guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person shall be placed under arrest except by decision of a court of law or with the sanction of a procurator.

ARTICLE 128 The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

ARTICLE 129 The U.S.S.R. affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation.

ARTICLE 130 It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to abide by the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labor discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist society.

ARTICLE 131 It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing crimes in respect of public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

ARTICLE 132 Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. is the honorable duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE 133 To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the Motherland—violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter XI

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

ARTICLE 134 Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies—of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, the Soviets of Working

People's Deputies of the Territories and Regions, the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Regions, and the Area, District, city, and rural (stanitsa, village, hamlet, kishlak, aul) Soviets of Working People's Deputies—are elected on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

ARTICLE 135 Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status, or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies, with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane.

Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. who has reached the age of twenty-three is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status, or past activities.

ARTICLE 136 Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

ARTICLE 137 Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

ARTICLE 138 Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

ARTICLE 139 Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from rural and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

ARTICLE 140 Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

ARTICLE 141 Candidates are nominated for each constituency.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to mass organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies.

ARTICLE 142 It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electorate on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XII

ARMS, FLAG, CAPITAL

ARTICLE 143 The arms of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are a sickle and hammer against a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscription "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" in the languages of the Union Republics. At the top of the arms is a five-pointed star.

ARTICLE 144 The state flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is of red cloth with the sickle and hammer depicted in gold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The ratio of width to length is 1 : 2.

ARTICLE 145 The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the City of Moscow.

Chapter XIII

PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 146 Amendments to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. shall be adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes in each of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

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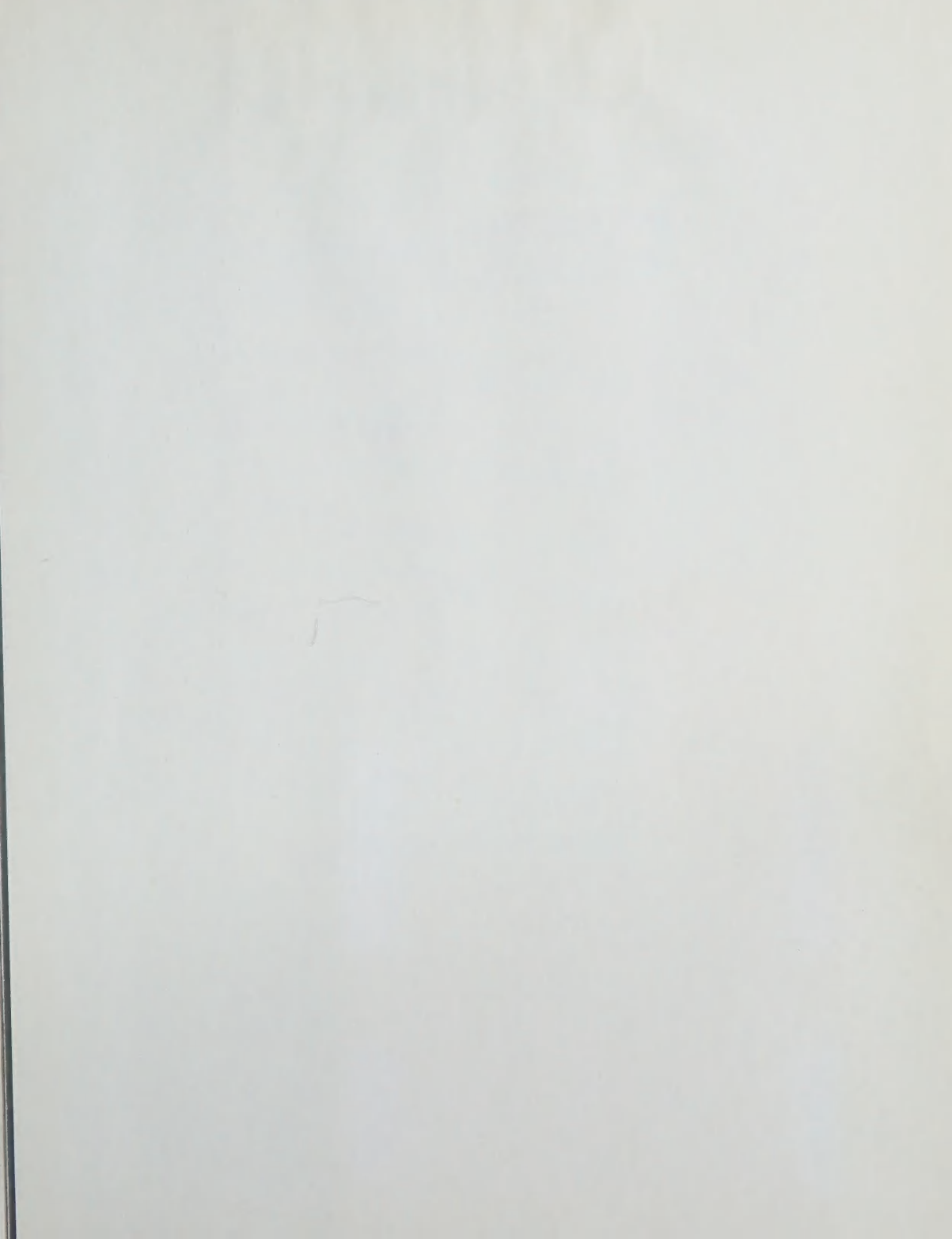
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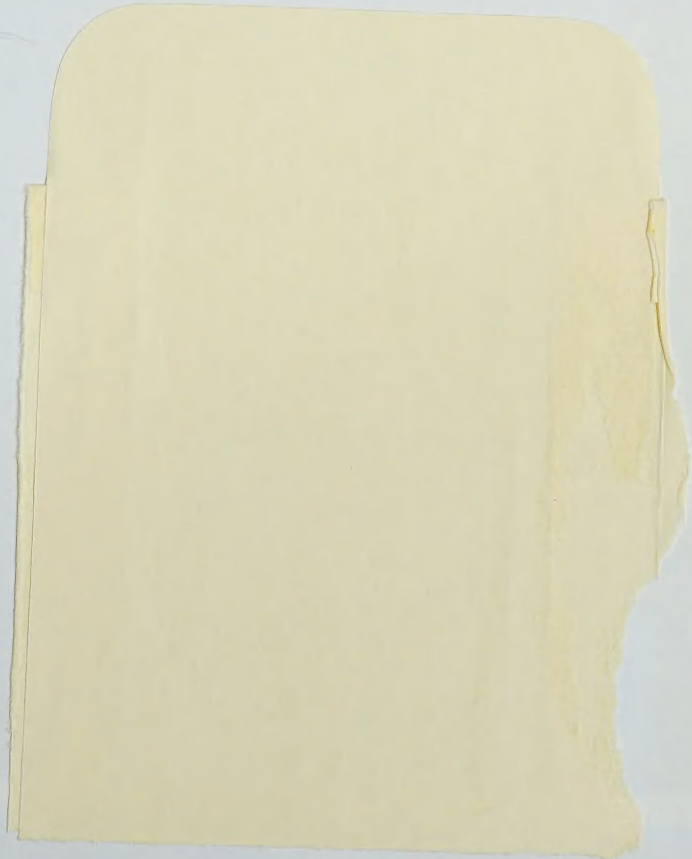
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